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Romanian National Day Anniversary Celebrated

Miska, Korbeci Attend Reception

AU2208191989 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Gheorghe Pop, extraordinary and plenipotentiary Romanian ambassador in Tirana, hosted this evening a reception on the occasion of Romania's liberation anniversary.

The reception was attended by Pali Miska, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of agriculture; Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade; Llambi Gegprifti, chairman of the Tirana District People's Council Executive Committee; Muhamet Kapllani, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and other guests. The heads and officials of foreign diplomatic missions accredited to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, were also present.

Alia, Carcani Greet Ceausescu

AU2208192189 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and Comrade Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, have sent the following telegram to Nicolae Ceausescu, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Constantin Dascalescu, Prime Minister of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania: On the occasion of the 45th jubilee anniversary of Romania's liberation, in the name of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and personally, we convey to you, and through you to the Romanian people, cordial greetings and best wishes for successes in the development, progress, and prosperity of your country.

May the relations and friendly cooperation between our two countries develop constantly to the mutual benefit of our two peoples and to the benefit of peace and security in the region.

Embassy Conference Held

AU2208155989 Tirana ATA in English 1052 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Tirana, August 22 (ATA)—On occasion of the 45th anniversary of the National Day of Romania, the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Gheorghe Pop, organized a press conference on August 21 at the seat of the embassy.

Attending were working people of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, representatives of the press central organs, of radio-television, and ATA.

Algerian National Assembly Official Departs

AU1808124389 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 18 Aug 89

["The chairman of the People's National Assembly of Algeria, Rabah Bitat Left Our Country"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, August 18 (ATA)—The Chairman of the People's National Assembly of the Algerian Democratic and Popular Republic, Rabah Bitat, who paid a friendly visit to Albania, left our country, on August 17.

At the Rinas airport he was seen off by the chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, Petro Dode; the vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of agriculture, Pali Miska; the secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Sihat Tozaj; and the vice minister for foreign affairs, Muhamet Kapllani.

Present was also the Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Algerian Democratic and Popular Republic in our country, Mohamed Lemkami.

On August 16 evening, in honor of Rabah Bitat, the Chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, Petro Dode, gave a dinner, which passed in a warm and cordial atmosphere.

The dinner was attended by the Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Agriculture, Pali Miska; the Minister of Industry, Mining, and Energetics, Besnik Bekteshi; the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Reis Malile; the Secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Sihat Tozaj; the Minister of Health, Ahmet Kamberi; the Director of the Study Institute of International Relations, Sofokli Lazri, and other comrades.

Over his stay in our country, the chairman of the People's National Assembly of Algeria, Rabah Bitat, accompanied by the Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Agriculture, Pali Miska, paid visits to the districts of Vlore and Berat. He visited economic, socio-cultural and museum centers, where he was closely acquainted with the history of our people, with the successes and transformations carried out in these districts over the years of the people's power in all the fields. Everywhere he was extended a very warm and friendly reception. At the Museum of National Independence in Vlore, Mr. Rabah Bitat said: Visiting this museum which reflects the efforts of the Albanian sons for freedom and independence, we pay homage to the patriots and fighters who spared nothing, pay tribute to the Albanian people."

Present at these visits was also the Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Algerian Democratic and Popular Republic to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Mohamed Lemkami.

Socialist Democracy in Cooperatives Viewed

AU2108173989 Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian No 7, Jul 89 pp 74-82

[Article by Candidate of Sciences Gaqo Collaku, Hasan Hoxha: "The Independent Action of Cooperative Members—A Concrete Reflection of Democracy"]

[Excerpts] Cooperative democracy in our country is tied up directly with the existence of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the existence of social ownership of the means of production, which assures real equality in life. The correct relationship and the harmonious development between democratic centralism and the application of the line of the masses lay at its foundation, as the most perfect form of the management of collective property. [passage omitted]

The constant development of the cooperative system, based on the nature of common property and the common labor of all members of the cooperative, is accompanied by the extension and development of cooperative democracy, in the same way that the latter's application has further consolidated and perfected the cooperative system itself, has raised the mobilization of the cooperative members, and has increased their physical and mental potential in the direction of increased production and consolidation of collective property, the intensification of agriculture, and the perfecting of socialist relations in the countryside.

Thus, through convincing arguments, the practice of our socialist construction in the countryside belies and rejects the accusations directed against the cooperative system by the modern revisionists. Practice has shown that the reason for the failure of agriculture does not lie in the Leninist idea of cooperation, but in the return to private property, which represent the essence of Gorbachev's current reforms. Gorbachev is trying to make a distinction between his "restructuring" and the previous reforms which have failed, presenting the former, "restructuring," as an unprecedented development of democracy. In fact, as the practice of the "new" economic mechanism shows, while equality before the law and before the decisions of "the soviet of the working collective" is being propagated, together with the equal right to attend the "general meeting," there exists a real inequality which is reflected in the alienation of the working people from power and the results of their labor. The gap between the proclamation of democratic rights and daily reality, which Gorbachev is compelled to admit, cannot be closed by "restructuring," since property relationships are not being perfected along the road of socialism, but have entered the path of Western-type capitalism, where democracy is identified with "democracy of meetings," and so forth. This entire practice shows in fact that under conditions of a capitalist state, the cooperative is only a capitalist-type collective institution. From this viewpoint, it is obvious that in the Soviet Union, too, where capitalism has been introduced in every pore of society, democracy cannot exist for the working people, but only for the new urban and rural bourgeoisie.

Genuine cooperative democracy can only exist and develop under conditions of socialist property, where the masses themselves are the genuine owners of the means of production and of the produced products. The cooperative system has produced in our country all the premises and advantages for the constant development and extension of cooperative democracy. It has emancipated the working people from all forms of the exploitation of man by man, and the members of the cooperative, like all other citizens, enjoy in practice all the democratic rights and freedoms proclaimed by law. The entire mechanism of the organization and management of the economy in the countryside has been built in such a way that it makes peasants the owners of the collective property.

The massive discussion of the draft statute for agricultural cooperatives, which was carried out from the grass-roots level to the proceedings of the Sixth Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives, was a concrete and clear reflection of our cooperative democracy. Through their voice and ideas, debates, and confrontation with reality, the cooperative members and all the people working in agriculture expressed their creative thoughts, proposed concrete solutions to further increase production and to consolidate the cooperatives, and drafted and approved a statute that bears the imprint of the thoughts of the mass of cooperative members and sanctions their will.

The discussions and analyses carried out during this period identified in detail the problems related to the development of agricultural economies, the perfecting of organization at all levels, and the strengthening of control and accountability. An active position was adopted and progressive ideas were presented by members of cooperatives, beginning at brigade level, on numerous questions pertaining to production and its increase. Thus, all solutions pertaining to the question of the development of production forces, as well as those concerning production relations, bear the imprint of their fervor and readiness to take upon themselves even greater tasks in strengthening the cooperative system and in perfecting the democracy of this system. [passage omitted]

Struggle Against Alien Manifestations Viewed

AU2208134389 Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian No 7, Jul 89 pp 44-50

[Article by Kukes District AWP Committee Instructor Enver Bytyci: "The Struggle Against Alien Manifestations—A Reflection of the Work To Strengthen Unity."]

[Excerpts] The problems of the struggle against alien manifestations and delinquent activity in Kukes District have been tackled as important aspects of the class struggle, as one of the more concrete forms of the work to strengthen the moral-political unity of the masses. [passage omitted]

1. The leading, guiding, and educational work of the party and its instruments has been consistently directed against some manifestations in various fields of the district's socioeconomic life. In this process, the struggle against alien manifestations has been viewed not as a mere technical and administrative question, as a problem concerning only specialist organs, but primarily as a class problem related to various causes of a political, ideological, and psychological nature. [passage omitted]

A number of studies carried out in this field show obvious positive trends in the struggle against crime during the past decade. Compared with 1981 there has been a drop of 50 percent and during the past 2 years alone the drop has been even more pronounced. In 1988, compared with the previous year, there has been a drop of 25.5 percent in criminal manifestations. This is a reflection of the efficiency of the educational work done with individuals to prevent crimes in the economy, against socialist property, and in the field of social relations, in the form of crimes against the person, in civic behavior, and so forth. Good results have also been attained in raising vigilance and in discovering and preventing delinquent activity. [passage omitted]

However, a study and analysis of particular manifestations in this field has brought to light various causes and problems pertaining to the influence of the past and that of the bourgeois- revisionist pressure, as well as to the work carried out and the role played by the basic party organizations, communists, cadres, and working people to limit such manifestations and to stimulate social emancipation in general.

The negative effects of outside pressure, of the vestiges of the old society, and of petit bourgeois psychology are well-known. These consequences will continue in the future, too, since they are also tied up with certain objective factors.

The party's work in our district has been aimed at discovering the specific causes of various manifestations and at building our work with individuals on the basis of this knowledge. Some of these have to do with the psychology of private property, the process of collectivization having lagged behind that of other districts, the past existence and activity of clans and of the influence of clan mentality in the form of conservative and patriarchal backwardness inherited from the canons and customs of the past, the pressure of foreign propaganda, and so forth.

The knowledge of these factors has made it possible for the party bureaus and grassroots organizations to be more vigilant and in a position to prevent their negative effects. [passage omitted]

An analysis of the causes of delinquent behavior has also indicated a relatively low ideological and cultural level of the people involved. It is obvious that the elements of social awareness lag behind objective transformations in production relations.

During the first 8 years of the current decade, 88 percent of the people involved in delinquent activity had only 8-year schooling, completed or otherwise; 11 percent had secondary education, and 1 percent higher education. However, for the years 1986-98, the proportions changed to 90 percent of delinquent acts carried out by individuals with 8-year education, 9.7 percent by people with secondary education, and only 0.3 percent by people with higher education. [passage omitted]

With regard to crimes against the person, where a perceptible decline is noticed, the major cause appears to be that of revenge from "clannish" positions or from purely personal positions, the purpose being to show the "might" of the clan or of the person belonging to it, this being a trait inherited from the psychology of chieftainship (bajraktarizem). Self-justice in resolving personal and social problems and relationships appears to be at the base on this particular psychological trait.

The declining tendency with regard to this type of crimes in recent years is appreciated as a manifest success of the party's work in this field. But cases of such occurrences in the areas of Perbreg, Letaj, and Skavice show the social danger represented by the "chieftainship" mentality, whose influence is more considerable among people of a relatively low educational and cultural level. [passage omitted]

Importance of Ideological Education Stressed

AU2008172689 Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian No 7 Jul 89 pp 27-34

[Muharrem Xhafa article: "Educational Work With the Masses Is of Value When the Problems Arising From Life Are Tackled and Resolved"]

[Excerpts] Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed that socialism is built by the masses, and that the party leads and makes them conscious. The work for the education of communists and of the working masses remains at the center of attention of the party organs and organizations, and all its instruments. People respond to great tasks when they possess sound ideological and political convictions about the socialist system and its future. This is all the more essential in our country, which is small in size and subjected to constant pressure by alien ideologies, whose population is primarily of petit bourgeois origin, and where socialist development is going through certain difficulties. [passage omitted]

1. Our people are guided by the Marxist-Leninist ideology and are inspired by it in their activity. This is shown by our entire economic, political, and social development, by our society itself, which has carried out great revolutionary transformations. However, it would be unrealistic to believe that everything is a bed of roses and to fail to observe various problems. It is important to take people as they are, because not everyone is immune to the influence of petit bourgeois psychology and external pressure; we must not view people from an

idealist standpoint, seeing only their positive side, which does exist and is predominant, but also the vestiges and shortcomings, in order to get them to know well and to be able to organize better our educative work. Our country is building socialism through its own efforts and under conditions of a bourgeois-revisionist encirclement. The struggle and efforts to counter this pressure, to minimize its negative consequences, and to eliminate subjective shortcomings and weaknesses have been and remain constant. These conditions require militant and determined people who are able to tackle problems and resolve them, people who do not remain mere spectators, but who seek to maintain a revolutionary militancy at all times and to wage the class struggle correctly and resolutely. [passage omitted]

Everyone accepts and adheres to the teachings on the class struggle in theory, but some people do not always wage it in practice. We will undoubtedly encounter alien manifestations and antisocial activities. Economic, organizational, and legal measures have a role to play in the struggle against such manifestations, but what is required over and above all else is to intensify ideological work, to arouse public opinion, to wage the class struggle with a profound knowledge of real concepts, behavior, and stands of individuals, and to get communists, cadres, young people, women, and all our working people to act concretely. Everyone, young or old, active workers and pensioners, must fight against alien manifestations, must fight for the good name of communists and citizens, must reject all liberal and indifferent attitudes, must educate themselves with the spirit of the class struggle, avoiding both opportunist and sectarian attitudes. [passage omitted]

2. Through its farsighted policy the party has always correctly harmonized the great interests of the state and of society with those of the group or the individual. Our people have, generally, a clear concept of interests in socialism, this being reflected in their readiness to work wherever the need may be, in the revolutionary actions to place the general interest over the personal one, in the sound psychology that exists among the workers and other working masses. However, it would be harmful to minimize and to fail to view realistically certain shortcomings observed in our daily life. There are those who do not react with the same forcefulness and interest that they show for personal affairs, when it comes to questions of the general interest. There are those who leave no stone unturned to find some cushy job in the city, to secure housing beyond real possibilities, and generally to try to get more out of society than they are giving it. The education of the working people with the sentiment of placing the general interest above the personal one requires that the party organs and organizations, the state and economic organs, and the social organizations should work constantly with people to induce them to be guided and inspired by the country's lofty interests and not to fall prey to narrow interests which breed a passive spirit, lack of initiative, confine them within a narrow petit bourgeois world, and induce in them harmful egotistical tendencies. [passage omitted]

Economic Progress Report for 13-19 Aug
AU1908184389

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its transmissions between 13 to 19 August carries the following economic performance reports (time and date of report given in parentheses):

Berat District: The export plan up to 15 August was overfulfilled by 4.5 million leks. (1800 GMT 18 Aug 89)

Durres District: The industrial production plan up to 10 August was overfulfilled by 21 million leks and the export plan by 4 million leks. (1800 GMT 15 Aug 89)

Gjirokaster District: The overall industrial production plan up to 10 August was overfulfilled by 3.5 million leks. (1800 GMT 16 Aug 89)

Lushnje District: The general industrial production plan up to 15 August was overfulfilled by 2 percent. (1800 GMT 19 Aug 89)

Puke District: The overall industrial production plan was fulfilled by 1.3 million leks. (1800 GMT 18 Aug 89)

Vlore District: The industrial production plan up to 15 August was exceeded by approximately 6 million leks. (1800 GMT 19 Aug 89)

Further Reportage, Comment on Border Incident

Passengers Stopped at Borders

AU2208201089 Sofia BTA in English
1605 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Kapitan Andreevo Border Checkpoint, August 22 (BTA)—Early this morning, at 2.20 A.M., the Turkish border authorities halted the receipt of Bulgarian citizens arriving from the Kapitan Andreevo Border Checkpoint en route to Turkey.

At the time of the deadline set by Turkey for closing the border, there were hundreds of cars and trucks from different parts of Bulgaria at the border checkpoint. There were passengers waiting just in front of the sign board "Turkey" at the Kapikule Border Checkpoint, who had to obey to the categorical gesture of the Turkish officials and go back to the territory of Bulgaria. Thousands of people, many of them with their children, were caught by the dawn in the parking lots near the villages of Mladinovo and Vurbovo in a state of expectation.

A lot of them had left their jobs, had taken all their household belongings, some had even sold their homes.

Today by noon a group of Bulgarian citizens who were waiting their turn went to the neutral zone at the border checkpoint and asked the Turkish authorities about the reasons for closing the border and why no time had been allowed for letting pass the line of cars which were waiting near Kapitan Andreevo. There was no answer to their request to make an exception for families with small children.

Consular Section on Visas

AU2208201489 Sofia BTA in English
1701 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Sofia, August 22 (BTA)—In connection with the decision of the Council of Ministers of Turkey to halt unilaterally the arrival of Bulgarian citizens who wish to visit that country, on August 22, 1989, in the Consular Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria, the Bulgarian side expressed disapproval before the ambassador of the Republic of Turkey of the decision which once again is aimed to impede the free movement of citizens proclaimed by the Vienna Final Document signed by Turkey, too.

In the meantime, the Turkish General Consulate in Burgas today returned about 200 passports of Bulgarian citizens who wished to visit Turkey without issuing the respective visas.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria will continue to make efforts for ensuring the conditions for Bulgarian citizens' visits to Turkey on the basis of the operative bilateral and multilateral agreements.

U.S. Officials Visit Border

AU2108194389 Sofia BTA in English
1846 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Sofia, August 21 (BTA)—U.S. senators and congressmen, representing the Helsinki Commission of the U.S. Congress, today visited the Kapitan Andreevo Checkpoint on the Bulgaro-Turkish border. They were accompanied by officials of the U.S. Embassy in Ankara and of the U.S. Consulate in Istanbul, as well as by Mr Sol Polansky, the U.S. ambassador in Sofia.

The U.S. observers conferred with Mr Lyuben Kulishev MP, secretary of the National Assembly Standing Committee on Foreign Policy, with Bulgarian Foreign Ministry officials and with border control officers. The observers expressed satisfaction with the opportunity to get a closer look at the problems related to the trips of Bulgarian Muslims to Turkey.

The Bulgarian officials emphasized that Turkey's decision to suspend the admission of Bulgarian citizens as from midnight today is an anti-human act. Thousands of people with their small children and luggage are waiting at the border. They have not expected such a move from the Turkish Government which up to now has been profuse in its attractive offers and promises.

The American observers also visited the temporary marshalling point near the village of Mladinovo (25 km to the north of the border) where Bulgarian citizens in a convoy of motor cars are waiting for their turn to cross the Bulgaro-Turkish border. The U.S. officials talked to many of them.

Commentary on Border Closure

AU2308112589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Aug 89 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed commentary: "Collapse of Illusions Imposed by Force"]

[Text] The Turkish Government has adopted a decision to stop accepting Bulgarian citizens in Turkey and has unilaterally closed the border. Active measures are being undertaken on the Bulgarian side to render aid to our fellow-countrymen who have already started on the journey to the border posts.

The news was immediately disseminated by the information agencies of the world, and it indeed deserved to be. The Turkish Government's unilateral decision to stop accepting Bulgarian citizens, descendants of Bulgarian Muslims, who wish to visit Turkey, put an end to the myth that has been persistently implanted over a long period by the directors of the anti-Bulgarian campaign, according to which Turkey is the "mother," the true homeland of the Bulgarian Muslims.

Now, following this decision by the Turkish Government, one begins to clearly see the true value of the statements by Turkish politicians, including Prime Minister Turgut Ozal, that Turkey is ready to accept all Bulgarian Muslims who want to visit the country, whether it is for shorter or longer periods. It is becoming clear that, as far as the inspirers and conductors of the unprecedented anti-Bulgarian campaign are concerned, these people never were, nor are they now anything else than pawns in the game called politicking.

The Turkish propaganda made persistent efforts—efforts that we must admit were not completely unsuccessful—to instill the illusion into the minds of part of the Bulgarian Muslims that they were welcome in Turkey, that a life almost like heaven on earth awaited them there, and that they would be most welcome guests. Alas, the reality proved to be quite different, and this was very quickly realized by a considerable portion of the travelers, whose dramatic experiences and tales told after their ignominious return have begun to exert a sobering influence.

After studying this decision of the Turkish Government, one can reach an indisputable conclusion concerning the hypocritical nature of the inflammatory transmissions and press articles in the Turkish mass media and the statements by Turkish officials that they would guarantee the unimpeded acceptance of all Bulgarian Muslims who want to visit Turkey.

Their native land is here, in Bulgaria. The Turkish Government decision most emphatically confirms the fact that one can hardly find any state in the world that claims to be the homeland for some group, and at the same time closes its borders to this group.

This step taken by Ankara will disillusion those who, with their bags already packed, were awaiting the day when they would travel to Turkey. However, this decision will also help these fellow-countrymen of ours to see the light and to assess for themselves who is infringing their right.

Our country's position is clear. Bulgaria is fulfilling by deeds as well as in words the accords recorded in the Vienna meeting final document concerning the right of its citizens to freely leave and return to their native land. With regard to the real problems, both inherited and new ones, existing in Bulgarian-Turkish relations, Bulgaria is ready to discuss them at all levels, starting from the basis of the international realities and the fact that the two countries have been destined by history to be neighbors. However, one condition is stipulated, namely that the negotiations should be without any preliminary conditions, and without taking unilateral actions, such as that represented by the Turkish Government decision, that would lead to the appearance of tension and create additional difficulties.

Returning Muslims on Settlement Problems

AU1808145289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Aug 89 p 2

[Report: "Names of Fear"]

[Text] Kapitan Andreevo, 15 August (special correspondent Nikolay Golemanov)—From the coinciding reports of recently returned Bulgarian Muslims, it appears that Turkey has exhausted its capacities for settling them, even if only temporarily, in the European part of Turkey. Many Bulgarian Muslims have been directed straight from the Kapikule border station to central and even eastern Anatolia, more particularly to Sivas, Erzincan, and Erzurum.

The Turkish authorities are paying less and less attention to the expressed wishes of the new arrivals. The ones who have prospects of remaining in European Turkey are mainly those who convincingly provide addresses of relatives. Many of the others have their passports taken away in a manner that in practice obliges them to leave for Asia.

The experiences of the three Todorov brothers from the Shumen region are instructive. They left for Turkey with their families on 5 August. Their trip was limited to a game of hide-and-seek with the Turkish border guards and police at the station in Kapikule.

"We arrived on 6 August," the oldest brother Aleksey related, "and were greeted by music, warm words of welcome, and so forth. However, when we left the train and had a look around, we very quickly decided to go back. We also quickly learned from the others that if you say you have no relatives in Turkey, they take away your passport and send you to Sivas or Erzincan."

Aleksey Todorov also told us of their troubles with the police, until they finally obtained permission to return home; he related his impressions of the rude treatment and beatings suffered by his fellow-countrymen "even in front of foreigners @ the station."

His youngest brother, a bearded, extremely emaciated fellow, with slow, feeble movements caused by lack of sleep, believed that others at the station also wanted to return. "However, no one tells anyone else of his intentions. If I had been asked, I would not have said that I was returning either, because I had no way of knowing who was asking me or what he would do." (The 1-week excursion cost the three families 10-15 thousand leva.)

According to other arrivals, some of the Bulgarian Muslims are being sent to Anatolia even with their passports. In Kapikule station itself railroad passenger cars are detached to be sent on this route, which for more than a few has the hidden risk of turning out to be a one-way trip.

The returning eyewitnesses also told of the increasing anxiety among the Bulgarian Muslims already settled in the European part of Turkey. Their alarm is most often expressed with the words "as the schools become empty." They are also afraid because of the conditions in Anatolia: the increasing apartment rents, which are already high, or compulsion exerted on them by the authorities, such as they had experienced in Kapikule.

At the same time, with the approach of the start of the school year and the coming winter tensions are increasing between the Turkish and Bulgarian Muslims, who are regularly rudely referred to as "infidels." Many of the returnees are disillusioned with their own relatives, and with what their distant relatives had represented to them as "wealth." They were also surprised and disappointed with the difference between the festive words of greeting at the station and the hostile attitudes that they encountered in the streets.

Boyka Khristova, a 34-year-old worker from Kurdzhali, arrived by train on Sunday, having escaped from her relatives who wanted to take away her children. She related her experiences in a restrained and, I would say, courageous manner, but several times her eyes filled with tears:

"I gathered some money together secretly and set off to look for our consulate in Istanbul. The city was unknown to me, and I could not ask anyone the way, because people had had their passions terribly whipped up against Bulgaria, and they call us "infidels." I asked in a cafe for the telephone number of the American Consulate, and while the man called information I watched him dial and memorized the figures. I then telephoned the same number from a public telephone in the street, found out how to get to our consulate, so here I am...."

At the border she, like the others, was made to state before a video camera that she liked Turkey very much, was going to Bulgaria only to see her relatives, and that she would definitely come back....

Customs Controls at Turkish Border Described
AU2208091489 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Aug 89 p 2

[Report by special correspondent Nikolay Golemanov: "The Border Remains a Border]

[Excerpts] Kapitan Andreevo, 17 August—[passage omitted] For 2 and ½ months the normal, everyday work here has been changed because of the flow of Bulgarian Muslims departing for Turkey and the continuous lines of vehicles, people, and baggage.

This naturally creates difficulties for the customs and border officials, who are being helped by their colleagues from elsewhere in the country. However, as far as the travelers are concerned, from the administrative viewpoint, for each of them the border crossing is no different from any journey that a Bulgarian makes abroad, or from any legal crossing of any border in the world. The formalities are the same, the requirements and prohibitions are clear and precisely established, and the penalties are also inevitable, and unpleasant for the offenders.

The border remains a border.

Customs declarations are filled out and, if necessary, additional explanations are given about their contents, in order to prevent involuntary violations. Passports are checked at several positions, and, despite the solid columns of vehicles drawn up in four or five lines, there is no unorganized movement.

The same strictness is also applied in the customs inspections, the formalities being obligatory for all without exception. However, the results of these checks are radically different for those departing as compared with those returning to Bulgaria. Among the latter, not a single offender has been discovered to date. Why?

"Both at this border post and at the railroad station, for the past 25 days we have also been seeing returning travelers," I was told by Pavel Lilyanov, chief specialist at the customs post in Svilengrad and chief of the "Passenger and Vehicle Control" Section.

"Unfortunately, so far we have not found anyone bringing back a single Bulgarian lev," Pavel Lilyanov informed me. Regrettably, the returnees have sold everything, and are returning without a bean, hungry, and feeling personally offended. They are not bringing anything with them, so what offenses can they commit?" [passage omitted]

The offenders are numerous, but only among those departing. In the period from midnight on 14 August to lunchtime on 16 August alone, 80 foreign currency offenses were noted and charges were drawn up for them. [passage omitted]

Against the background of these figures, and the piles of baggage exported by the travelers at their own decision, however foolhardy it may be, one is struck by the complete stupidity of a rumor that has recently been spreading in various regions of Khaskovo Oblast. Its stupidity is directly proportional to the persistence with which it is being disseminated. The rumor claims that aid is being collected for the returning Bulgarian Muslims.

I asked Ivan Krustev, secretary of the Khaskovo Oblast Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, for a brief commentary:

"I can categorically state," he replied, "that nothing of the kind is taking place. We have indeed heard from a number of places that such a rumor exists, but it is merely a rumor, with absolutely no foundation. No collections for aid are being made, no other money is

being collected, and no funds are being created. The Bulgarian Muslims have passports, they are entitled to depart and return, and that's it. There has been no initiative to collect money to help them, neither an official initiative nor one coming from social organizations. At the moment our efforts are directed elsewhere, namely toward collecting the harvest." [passage omitted]

Public Rallies Support Government Muslim Policy
AU1808201789 Sofia BTA in English 1927 GMT 18 Aug 89

[Text] Sofia, August 18 (BTA)—At rallies held in many towns and villages, at enterprises, institutes and farms, the work forces are briefed on topical problems of Bulgaro-Turkish relations. They voice their indignation over the instigating propaganda of the Turkish authorities which sows delusions among Muslim Bulgarians. Resolutions and telegrams sent to party and state bodies stress that this mean campaign is directly related to the efforts of the reactionary imperialist circles to stir tensions in Bulgaria and to destabilize her.

The resolutions and the telegrams welcome Bulgaria's consistent policy seeking cooperation, understanding and good-neighbourliness with all Balkan countries and her earnest desire to maintain normal relations with her southeastern neighbour. Determination is expressed to overcome the difficulties which have arisen in production and to speed up the processes of restructuring in the spirit of the BCP policy.

The subversive policy of the Turkish Government targeted against the unity of the Bulgarian nation, against peace and security in the Balkans and in Europe, was categorically condemned at the work-force meetings. They voted telegrams rejecting the declaration of the NATO secretary general which essentially supports Turkey's Pan-Turkic and chauvinist policy and constitutes an attempt at a gross interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state.

The participants in the rallies condemn the policy which is inconsistent with the present-day realities and which is inspired by imperial ambitions. The Turkish Government makes ever more active political use of Islam so as to deflect public attention from its problems at home.

It is emphasized that the Bulgarian legislative amendments concerning passport regulations are entirely in keeping with the Vienna accords.

Commentary Views Sociopolitical Committees
AU1908192589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Aug 89 p 3

[Unattributed commentary: "Real Expression of Unity of Action and People's Power"]

[Excerpts] With a display of great political activity, throughout the country the committees of political and social forces under the Fatherland Front are being set up spontaneously, at the initiative and wish of the workers. Everywhere the party organizations, Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS], Fatherland Front, trade unions, the Komsomol, and other social organizations and movements are voicing their conviction that it is timely and necessary to create these new formations in our social life. They fully approve of Comrade Todor Zhivkov's innovative idea of setting up such committees in the municipalities, oblasts, and the center, committees that in their very essence are revealing themselves as a unique form, in our conditions, for reaching a democratic consensus of the various social interests and achieving unity of action. The creation of the committees stems from the July Concept of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and the decisions of the December plenum of the BCP Central Committee on developing the socialist civic society, expanding people's voluntary activity, and raising the level of their civic consciousness and sense of responsibility. The committees are a cherished part of the restructuring and renewal of the political and social organizations, unions, and movements.

The first steps taken by the committees indicate the striving of society at large, on the basis of socialist pluralism, to enrich the forms of self-management by involving all interested social forces. Under the new conditions the social organizations and voluntary associations will participate even more actively and with greater commitment in resolving socioeconomic tasks, and will work to develop the self-managing communities and ensure that citizens' rights and liberties are properly respected by the state and its organs.

Apart from this, the complexity of the processes requires that the social organizations and movements be consolidated in the name of the common tasks, since the issues are complex, and solving them is not within the powers and capacities of one single organization or another, but requires agreed actions. For this reason the committees of the political and social organizations are being created as a forum for achieving common viewpoints, for holding discussions, and, at the same time, for ensuring unity of action. They will form a barometer of public opinion and a force that guarantees the implementation of the right of each of the participating organizations, movements, and associations to act as an effective partner and opponent of the organs of self-management in resolving the problems that have arisen. In this sense they comprise the second form [priroda] of the civic society.

The real manifestation of socialist pluralism as one of the mechanisms for the functioning of the civic society forms the objective basis for the appearance of the committees. The committees of political and social forces are called upon to give expression to the real multitude of interests, values, hopes, ideas, and activities of the different social strata and groups. They represent a form for encouraging self-education and bringing people to adopt an active civic and labor standpoint, for

partnership, and for a sense of mutual duty and respect between all the participating organizations and associations, even including those who defend a number of alternative views within the framework of socialist legality. The committees will help to combine efforts in support of the common program for further building socialism in our country. The socialist pluralism of opinions and interests will diversify the means and methods for achieving the great task of making Bulgaria a highly developed and civilized socialist state. In essence this represents a new quality and development of political pluralism in Bulgaria. The many years of combined action by the BCP and BZNS form the foundation of this pluralism, and the Fatherland Front is the body that expresses it, in the past, present, and future. [passage omitted]

Pursuing this train of thought, it should be emphasized that the committees in no way constitute new leading organs with a certain sphere of competence in the political system. In the most general terms, they will be a broadly based social support for the relevant organs of self-management, these primarily being the people's councils, in order that the latter may better and more effectively resolve each specific problem in accordance with the interests of the population. At the same time, this increases the need for such a dynamic social institution, which should display persistence in meeting the people's vital requirements and overcoming manifestations of bureaucratic attitudes and administrative-directive methods. For this reason it is precisely by means of sociopolitical coordination, without a hierarchical ladder of subordination for the committees, and by using styles, methods, and forms of work specific for every social formation, that the common goals and tasks posed by the committees themselves are already being implemented, and a form of consensus is being achieved that is the result of free discussions and dialogues, and of playing the roles of partner and opponent. [passage omitted]

The activities of the newly formed committees show that they are forming a center for people of united views within the framework of socialist pluralism. [passage omitted]

The practical examples of this unity of action are continuously increasing in number. A declaration of the committee in Asenovgrad Municipality points out that the committee's founders have voluntarily agreed to cooperate and work in the closest possible coordination toward solving the most important problems in the political, socioeconomic, and intellectual spheres. It is stressed that the new form of unification under the banner of the Fatherland Front will raise the population's social creativity and energy to qualitatively new levels. In Plovdiv Municipality, the 33 founders of the committee consider that the sociopolitical forces will multiply if the committee succeeds in admitting and co-opting all associations, even including unofficial [neformalni] ones, that join the common platform and voice the wish to work for the benefit of socialism.

In the municipalities of Ruse, Kurdzhali, Tolbukhin City, Razgrad, Isperikh, Petrich, Dulgopol, Mikhaylovgrad, Sofia, and many others, the first and most immediate task defined in their programs is quite naturally the unification of the Bulgarian nation, which is associated with specific work in fulfilling the annual plan and, more particularly, collecting the harvest. The plan of the committee for "Rodopi" Municipality covers several issues: patriotic consciousness and development of the socialist system of ceremonies and rituals; protecting the natural environment through submitting proposals to the competent organs for speedy measures to improve the ecological situation in certain regions; applying biology to plant protection, and other issues. [passage omitted]

There are also many other vital issues about which citizens are concerned at the moment: patriotic education of the people, especially young people; enriching intellectual life; improving conditions for work and recreation; problems relating to the family and the healthy way of life; concern for the old, and charity in general; and observing socialist legality and the campaign against negative phenomena. In responding to the nationwide upsurge of patriotism, most of the committees are setting as their most important task at present the mobilization of all forces and resources to fulfill and overfulfill the plan and collect the harvest in good time.

At the constituent meetings of certain committees, the issue of publicizing the committee's work was justifiably posed and discussed. Indeed, to ensure that the committees adopt closer positions toward real life and the population's real problems, they need untouched and timely information about the processes that are under way, public feelings, and people's attitudes to the committees' various decisions. This can only be achieved if the committees' work is conducted in public according to the rules of glasnost and if timely publicity is given to their decisions. This is primarily an obligation that falls on each of the organizations and public associations taking part in the committees. All the mass media must also be placed at the committees' disposal.

At the very first meetings, it became clear that the participants understood that the common viewpoints of the committees must embody the will and views of the collective organs, organizations, and associations, and not only the views of the top leaders who take part in the meetings. What is more, the very inclusion of the top leaders in the membership of the committees is regarded as a prerequisite for ensuring the strong commitment of the relevant social organizations, unions, and associations to fulfilling the decisions that are adopted. This is the crux of the provision that the organizations should pronounce their views on all issues by consensus, that is, by common agreement without taking a vote. Of course,

instances may well occur when an individual member of the committee may not ascribe to the commonly expressed viewpoint on a given issue. However, the adopted viewpoint expresses the will of broad public opinion and will be defended by those who have rallied around it. In addition, it is possible that no decisions may be reached on certain of the issues discussed, but here the very exchange of views and the discussion are an expression of civic activity, social commitment, and a quest for unanimity of action.

In the functioning of the committees, the application of the principle of rotation of offices and fixed terms of service is a concrete expression of democracy. The committees will be chaired in succession by the top leaders of the relevant organizations. The top leaders of various organizations—BCP, BZNS, Fatherland Front, Komsomol, the municipal committees of the Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism Union, and so on—were elected as chairmen of the committees for the initial period of their activity, to serve for varying periods of 3, 4, or 6 months, and so on.

The question also arises of the relationship between the committees of political and social forces and the people's councils and other local self-management organs. Clearly, the proposals submitted by the committees and their stated viewpoints are primarily of a consultative nature and cannot be binding upon the relevant organs. Nevertheless, in the conditions of socialist democracy and self-management, the organs should take into consideration the well-argued, wise viewpoints of the population's voluntary organizations. The chief thing is that the committees should guard against manifestations of formalism and preoccupation with quantitative approaches, and should avoid holding interminable meetings without result while each of the organizations taking part in the committees should assume its own tasks in a timely way.

It is naturally to be expected that new problems will arise in the course of the work, and these will be elucidated with reference to the specific conditions. The party must devote care and attention to consolidating the committees of political and social forces and ensuring that they function correctly. The chief thing is to attract and involve in concerted actions all strata of the population and all citizens, in order to ensure the success of the revolutionary cause of socialist renewal.

Governmental Decree on Registering Occupation
AU2208100789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Aug 89 p 6

["Extract" from DURZHAVEN VESTNIK: "Activity for Additional Production of Goods and Services"]

[Text] DURZHAVEN VESTNIK No 64 carries the following important decrees:

Regulation No 4 of 1989, issued by the Ministry of Planning and Economy, on the registration and independent exercise of a profession, and of producing, and performing trade and services by citizens. Its most essential provisions relate to establishing the procedure for registering citizens who wish to exercise independently and with their own means a certain profession related to the additional production of goods and services, adopted by Decree No 35 of the Council of Ministers of 1987. The regulation points out what documents are necessary for registering the citizens. The registration is entered in a special register in the municipal people's councils at the location in which the citizens are living, within 2 weeks of submitting the documents. Refusal to enter the registration or its cancelation are to be brought to the citizens' attention within the same period of time.

The Committee on Quality has published instructions on issuing certificates to organizations, companies, and citizens, certifying the presence of conditions for producing, importing, repairing, and inspecting measuring instruments.

Weekly Defends '68 'Internationalist Assistance'

AU2208134289 Prague TRYBUNA in Czech 16 Aug 89 No 33 pp 1, 3

[Karel Horak article: "A Policy for the Subversion of Socialism: On the Activity of the Opposition Structures"]

[Excerpts] The anniversary of the internationalist assistance given to our country in August 1968 has become the occasion for the organization of further attacks on socialist Czechoslovakia, the Communist Party, and its policy aimed at comprehensive social restructuring. Weeks before the August anniversary those who are organizing the antisocialist activity began coming forward with the categorical demands that the party and state organs of the five socialist countries declare the assistance to be unsubstantiated, to be an act which is holding back the reform process in Czechoslovakia and in the other socialist states, and that they condemn this act as illegal.

As usual this campaign received complete support from the bourgeois mass media, from post-August emigres, and also from A. Dubcek and O. Cernik. Polish Solidarity and the Hungarian Democratic Forum actively joined in. A. Michnik, one of Solidarity's leading officials, even undertook a journey not only to Prague but also to Moscow and Budapest in order to coordinate the opposition circles' course of action.

Attacks on the internationalist assistance and its definition as an act which held up the development of "real" socialism and which established a "neo-stalinist" regime in our country are nothing new. Every year throughout the last 20 years we have come across them during this period. Many of those who urge on and manage the contemporary activity of opposition structures (for example, V. Havel, R. Battek, L. Vaculik, and others) actively participated in the organization of antisocialist manifestations in August 1969. However, events of the last 2 months indicate that this year, in contrast to previous years, this activity involves a carefully thought out and well prepared campaign, which has been conducted for a long time, and in which an otherwise motley crew of people and groups striving to change the social system in our country have united. The contents of the campaign also correspond to this aim. Attacks are not only made against the act of internationalist assistance itself. Its participants are attempting to crudely distort development during the crisis years and during the past two decades and they are also attempting to completely negate the results which we have achieved in the process of socialist construction.

An Element of Long-Term Strategy

Why just at the present time is there this united course of action and the attempt to foster the public's opinion in our country and in the world, including the socialist countries, that the internationalist assistance slowed down the development of socialism and, therefore, that it is necessary to declare it to be unsubstantiated? All the organizers of this endeavor see in the anniversary of the internationalist assistance an opportunity to step up the struggle against socialism in our country, to exert pressure on the leadership of the fraternal countries, and to influence broad sections of the public, particularly, the young generation, which has only second-hand information about development during the crisis years.... Not in the last place is the fact that the opposition structures want to let the world know once again that they are whipping up confrontation with the socialist state.

All the events which they are organizing, including seeking signatures for the "Few Sentences" appeal, are, however, mainly an element of the long-term strategy of foreign anticommunist centers and domestic enemies aimed at causing a crisis in several socialist countries all at once and, thus, creating conditions for the elimination of the socialist system in them and breaking up the community of socialist countries. V. Havel confirmed this tactic in an interview with the Solidarity daily GAZETA WYBORCZA on 26 May 1989: "Isolated attempts to democratize individual countries in the Soviet block have, so far, always ended unsuccessfully. Now, when this process has gripped all the countries of the block, there is a hope that it will lead to lasting and irreversible changes, in Czechoslovakia also...."

And it is just these lasting and irreversible changes in our country (of course, according to their ideas) and the creation of conditions and prerequisites for them which Messrs. Havel, i is, Vaculik, Battek, Dienstbier, Sabata, Mlynar, Pelikan, and dozens of others are involved in. During the crisis years and during the past two decades, they have provided a great deal of evidence on what these changes should be. An actual aim of their activity is the elimination of socialism built on Marxist-Leninist principles and its replacement—as they put it—by a democratic society. During the 1968/69 crisis years, this aim was called "socialism with a human face." However, nothing has changed at the heart of the matter—perhaps only that those who at the end of the 1960's presented themselves as the apostles of that "revived" socialism today, in their majority, say openly what they are about. [passage omitted]

This is confirmed, inter alia, by the document of the "Movement for Civil Liberty" entitled "Democracy for All," which proposes the abolition of the leading role of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ], the restoration of private enterprise, including in the sphere of culture, the founding of independent media, the liquidation of a single school system, and the formation of independent trade unions and other organizations. The same principles, extended with the demand for the free founding of political parties, also figure in a document of the same group, in which it advises what the new constitution should contain. It is to be "rid completely of ideological terms and concepts" such as the working people, Marxist scientific world view, socialist social and

state system, leading role of the party, Warsaw Pact membership, and so forth (Radio Free Europe, 30 June 1989). Is there any need for more conclusive evidence that, according to the ideas and plans of opposition structures, not even the name should be left of socialism?

The reality of the world quite clearly shows that there exist only two social orders at present—the socialist and the capitalist. If, according to the "Movement for Civil Liberty," the socialist social and state system should be deleted from the new constitution as "ideological ballast," then only the second alternative remains. Under the cloak of Czechoslovakia being a "democratic republic based on the representative principle," the capitalist order is to be renewed in our country, an anti-February is to be carried out, and the hard-won gains of the working people are to be done away with.

The Internationalist Assistance Was Necessary

What people from the "Charter" and other illegal structures (incidentally, essentially it is always the same people appearing under different labels) enforce is actually not that new. Similar demands were raised and—under the aegis and, frequently, with the active support of A. Dubcek and his associates—also implemented by right-wing and antisocialist forces in the years of crisis 1968/69. There were independent media, independent organizations and art unions, independent trade unions, absolute freedom of speech and assembly.... But what did this "independence" look like? Right-wing and antisocialist forces seized the monopoly on everything. [passage omitted]

As a consequence of the policy of right-wing forces, the party was constantly retreating and completely lost control over social processes in the country and the ability to influence them. All that led to an unrestrained development and seriously jeopardized the very foundations of socialism. The right-wing and antisocialist forces were becoming ever bolder and getting ready to take over power. [passage omitted]

This is why the internationalist assistance of 1968 was necessary. There was no real internal force, one capable of taking action, that would put a stop to the efforts at a counterrevolutionary reversal, that would stop the train of right-wing and antisocialist forces, which was "in full motion" by then and which was irreversibly heading for the station of counterrevolution and civil war. The internationalist assistance was not directed against the positive changes that were to be brought about on the basis of the conclusions of the January [1968] session of the CPCZ Central Committee, but against the counterrevolutionary tendencies that were becoming dominant, through the fault of the policy pursued by right-wing members of the party leadership. Even in the Moscow agreements it is enshrined that neither the armies nor other bodies of the five states would interfere in the internal affairs of the CSSR. Incidentally, A. Dubcek, O. Cernik, J. Smrkovsky, and all other exponents of the right wing (with the exception of F. Kriegel) remained in their posts. The positions of right-wing forces in the CPCZ Central Committee were even strengthened at the August [1968] plenum. No changes whatsoever occurred in social organizations and the art unions and virtually no changes occurred in the media.

The scope for the realization of post-January policy, free of its revisionist deformations and without the legal operation of antisocialist forces, thus remained fully open. It was not a result of the internationalist assistance that this second chance was wasted. Even after August 1968, right-wing and antisocialist forces carried on their destructive policy. [passage omitted] Those who today shout the loudest (A. Dubcek, O. Cernik, exponents of the right wing in emigration and at home, and a whole range of representatives of the illegal structures) that the internationalist assistance put the brakes on reforms in Czechoslovakia themselves bear the main responsibility for the fact that the disruption in the party and in society continued, that no changes were implemented that would strengthen and consolidate socialism, but such as weakened it.

Why Do They Want to Rehabilitate Right-Wing Policies

Those who strove to liquidate socialism found the situation that took shape in 1968 fully congenial. Antisocialist forces were able to operate legally, the media were in the service of the negation of socialist values and principles, the party was deprived of its leading role and had no influence on the course of events. [passage omitted]

This is why opposition structures and so-called excommunists hold up developments in the years of crisis as a model for present-day restructuring. [passage omitted] This is why they say that we should take Poland and Hungary, where opposition structures have been legalized, as our example.

And what is the result? Even though Solidarity pledged to operate within the framework of the valid Constitution and to participate in overcoming the crisis in the Polish People's Republic, the reality is such that it attacks the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] and refuses to accept its share of responsibility for developments in the country in a grand coalition government. It demands that the government be either handed over fully to it so that it can implement its aims or that a so-called small coalition be formed, together with the Democratic and United Peasant Parties, without the PZPR's participation. The first and the second variant both pursue the same goal—to change the socialist system in the Polish People's Republic. After all, neither Solidarity in Poland nor the opposition in Hungary make any bones about it that their aim is not to continue building socialism but to establish an economic structure based on the private ownership of the means of production and a political system corresponding to the one

which preceded the socialist revolution. The topic how to get rid of communism and how to proceed jointly toward this target was also the subject of recent consultations in our country between a Solidarity group and some representatives of our opposition structures.

Although it has several aspects, the campaign waged by hostile forces to have the internationalist aid of 1968 declared ungrounded pursues the following basic aim—the reassessment of developments in the years of crisis and the rehabilitation of those who pursued the policy of those years. The logic of their course of action is as follows: If the internationalist assistance was not necessary, if it was a willful intervention, then it means that there was no counterrevolution in our country but that a positive development was underway, which was interrupted by force. In that case, not even the "Lessons" are valid, no consolidation was needed, and the policy of the past 2 decades was wrong and its exponents—that is, the CPCZ and its leadership—must be held responsible for it. And, and this is the main objective, it is necessary to reopen scope for political activity and for a return to the political stage to the people who led our country to the brink of a civil war in 1968/69. The reassessment of the years of crisis is also to make possible the legalization of opposition structures and their free activity against socialism.

The organizers reckon that such a step would undoubtedly result in the breakup of party unity, in a split in society, and in such a change in the leadership of the party and the state that the opposition structures—as Z. Bujak recommended to them—could agree with it on a course of action. It was no coincidence that, speaking about further developments in our country in an interview for Hungarian radio, which Radio Free Europe repeated on 3 June 1989, V. Havel stressed: "...the first small step must be the departure from the scene of politicians who are responsible for the entire era of the past 20 years...."

Against Restructuring

The actions which opposition structures are preparing for the anniversary of internationalist assistance are designed to express a sort of mass support by the citizens for their policy. It is, however, quite evident that theirs is a policy of destruction and disruption, a policy lacking any positive program, a policy that is aimed at the negation of the socialist system and the results we have achieved in the past years. [passage omitted]

The "A Few Sentences" appeal, just as all the other activities organized by opposition structures, is directed against restructuring, which we are implementing under the CPCZ's leadership. [passage omitted] Pressure actions and other activities are designed to occupy the party and state bodies, to slow down the process of changes, to bring about an atmosphere of tension, and to deprive the party and society of peace, which they need to work and to implement the reforms and all other tasks connected with restructuring and democratization.

Instead of being realized in a realistic solution of problems, which are not few, the energy of the working people and of party and state bodies should be expended in discussions, political squabbles, and, I do not hesitate to say, in political struggle. The principles and aims which the party laid down should remain unfulfilled, which would then open scope for criticism of the party and for the loss of people's trust in its policy. This is what the opposition structures are waiting for, on what they are focusing their tactics.

Of course, it is necessary to hold discussions, conduct a dialogue, and become clear about individual problems. [passage omitted] But it is the program of building socialism, the program of social restructuring, which represents the foundation of these discussions and the platform on which this dialogue is and will be conducted, a platform on which even disputes can be tackled and different views crystallized.

The question of political power in our society and of the nature of the social system in Czechoslovakia was resolved once and for all in February 1948. He who calls this solution in question, he who tries to upset it, no matter under which slogan, and seeks to bring about a change in it is acting in the interest of the enemies of the republic and excludes himself from social dialogue. The aim of restructuring is to strengthen socialism and to establish prerequisites for a better quality of people's lives and for strengthening their social security and not to return to the conditions which we definitively renounced 41 years ago.

'Internationalization' of Demonstrations Noted

LD2208093689 Prague CTK in English
0748 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 22 (CTK)—The event in the centre of Prague yesterday offers another proof of a broader "internationalization" of the Prague provocation. The first facts that surfaced on Monday will have yet to be specified but it is suspicious already now how many "foreign tourists" came to Prague just for August 21, RUDE PRAVO said today.

The Czechoslovak Communist Party daily recalled that the 21st anniversary of the August 1968 events was to become a signal for an anti-state confrontational clash.

The forces which pretend to be an opposition in Czechoslovakia and their foreign "advisers" and allies made large-scale preparations for August 21. They left no one in doubt that it is a street demonstration at any cost though they tried to create the impression that they discourage their supporters from such actions, RUDE PRAVO said.

The higher degree of alert of police and more frequent checks of cars and people are not a usual feature of the summer season in Prague. Their presence reflected clearly the contents of the Czechoslovak Government's statement, the words that any attempt to violate the process of restructuring or to abuse democratization for pursuing anti-socialist intentions will necessarily encounter corresponding response by state power, the paper said.

It noted the greater activity of some Western agencies which "these days were full of news from Prague. In their orientation they call to mind the proverb that a stick is quickly found to beat a dog." The paper also pointed out some deliberate provocative rumours, e.g. the AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE included in its Sunday news service a report about rumours going around in Prague, according to which riot police got permission to shoot, creating an atmosphere of psychosis. These agencies deliberately created an atmosphere of psychosis, calling forth an impact they desired: to spread throughout the world the version about the destabilization of conditions in Czechoslovakia, RUDE PRAVO stressed.

Today's RUDE PRAVO also quoted Lieutenant-Colonel Josef Dvorak, a representative of the Czech Ministry of the Interior and Living Environment, as having said that during the turmoil in the lower part of Wenceslas Square in Prague yesterday, a spokesman for the Solidarity of Hungarian Independent Working People came out with an appeal directed against society.

He further said public order had been restored with the use of mild means against the most aggressive individuals. No technical means were used. None of the participants in the banned demonstration nor members of police and the people's militia were injured. A total of 320 Czechoslovak nationals and 50 foreigners were detained by police.

Hajek Speaks on Political Trends, Demonstrations

Views Changes, 'Civic Courage'

LD2208150789 Paris Domestic Service in French 1100 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Excerpts] More than 370 people, 56 of them foreigners, notably Poles, Hungarians, and Italians, were arrested in Prague yesterday at demonstrations organized on the occasion of the 21st anniversary of the military crushing of the Prague Spring. [passage omitted] This morning I was able to contact by telephone Jiri Hajek, who was Alexander Dubcek's foreign minister in August 1968. He is constantly watched by the political police and has often been arrested. I asked him if he thought that the current changes in Poland and Hungary have a chance of affecting Czechoslovakia rapidly one day:

[Hajk] I have hopes that the spirit of the Prague Spring, which was suppressed violently and illegally 20 years ago, will return, and I see that it returning.

[Correspondent] What makes you say that? Do you feel changes in Czechoslovakia at this moment?

[Hajek] Changes—above all there is an increase in the spirit of civic courage, and this is very important.

[Correspondent] But do you believe that one day there could be change at the head of the Czechoslovak state, that the current leaders could step down, that they could accept democratic elections in Czechoslovak?

[Hajek] Listen, that is a prospect which is still fairly uncertain, but I believe that that is the general trend in all the countries of central and Eastern Europe. I do not believe that this trend could be halted right at our borders.

[Correspondent] Do you think that in the future Mr Dubcek may play an important political role and that he could become a sort of Czechoslovak Lech Walesa?

[Hajek] I believe that Alexander Dubcek certainly already plays an important part—I mean that one could see that among the watchwords at these demonstrations the name of Alexander Dubcek was included. It is quite difficult to predict exactly what role he could have in the future, but I believe that his name symbolizes the Prague Spring and symblizes the (?policies) of renovation, of the democratic renewal of socialism, and that his name, his person, will play an important role.

[Correspondent] But do the young people know him—the young people who were demonstrating yesterday, who are 20 years old and did not really know the events of 1968 all that well? Is he popular, is he very well known?

[Hajek] Listen, these young people have not lived through the Prague Spring, but they have experienced the normalization [official view of events after Prague Spring] and the neo-Stanlinist deformations which were imposed on our society, on our people, after the oppression, after the military suppression of 21 years ago, and those people, who come up against the official references to the matter of the Prague Spring and the military intervention against the [Prague] Spring each time, are demanding first of all to hear the truth and are demanding to take part in a true renewal of the country.

That was Jiri Hajek, Alexander Dubcek's foreign minister in August 1968.

Comments on Demonstration

AU2208132289 Rome ANSA in English 1233 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] (ANSA) Rome, August 22—"Prague, too, will never be the same," Jiri Hajek, former Czech foreign minister, said in a telephone interview published Tuesday by the Rome daily, LA REPUBBLICA.

Hajek was minister at the time of the 1968 Soviet-led invasion which crushed the "Prague Spring" reform movement, and was imprisoned and expelled from the communist party after denouncing the invasion at the United Nations.

In the interview, he said police prevented him from leaving his Prague home Monday to attend the demonstration marking the invasion's 21st anniversary, and that he heard of the police charges at St Wenceslas Square from foreign radio stations.

"I have seen a new internationalism come to light," he said, "democratic reform internationalism."

Commenting on Monday's demonstration, he said he is satisfied with the results: "The people had the courage to demonstrate and were able to remain calm, as the democratic opposition had asked. So there was no bloodbath."

Asked what he thinks will happen, he replied: "It's too early to tell, I don't know if the authorities have learned a lesson. I can only hope that more realist and rational leaders will emerge, after these 21 terrible years."

Cites Leadership Stagnation

LD2208151989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Our correspondent, Istvan Szelloe, has phoned the one-time Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Hajek, to ask for his evaluation of the current events.

[Hajek, speakin in Czech, with Hungarian translation superimposed] We recalled the sad anniversary yesterday. The government's forces were empowered to defeat the Prague Spring, which wanted economic and political reforms. We wanted to break way from the Brezhnev leadership, which till then had always directed us. Unfortunately it seems that we have failed to achieve this to this day. Our present leadership has stagnated on this point and still rules in accordance with the principles of the Brezhnev Doctrine. Thus, we are no further than before August, 1968.

The interesting thing is that the present leadership does speak of reforms and it is said that the greater changes can be expected in the beginning of next year. Nonetheless, I fear that these reforms will be directed at the economic sphere rather than the sphere of human rights.

Discusses Country's Future

AU2208205889 Vienna Television Service in German 2000 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Interview with former CSSR Foreign Minister Jiri Hajek by ORF correspondent Barbara Coudenhove-Kalergi in Prague on 22 August—recorded]

[Text] [Coudenhove-Kalergi] Professor Hajek, you were one of those who warned against the demonstration on 21 August. The demonstration took place nevertheless. What do you say now?

[Hajek] I think that it is good that such a spontaneous expression of the people's opinion took place and that the people restrained themselves and were tolerant.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] The demonstration took place, police intervened in a brutal way, but events like those in Tiananmen Square, a Chinese massacre, did not take place. Why, do you think?

[Hajek] I think that this was also due to the fact that we had sent letters to the authorities warning against such actions.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] Is it possible that the Soviet Union also dropped a hint?

[Hajek] I should hope so. I should hope so, because, after all, what IZVESTIYA reported on 19 August—on the one hand, the official standpoints, which, naturally, are hesitating and which are far from telling the whole truth, but on the other hand the reminiscences by this paratrooper [participant in the 1968 Prague invasion]—shows that in a certain way the Soviet Union also realizes that the previous view should be revised.

Of course, I think, that the big thing was the standpoint of the Hungarian party and of the Polish parliament.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] What might happen in the future? One is asked again and again whether it is really possible that in the Prague party only the so-called cement heads are the ones that give orders. Do you see any forces that might move toward dialogue and reason?

[Hajek] Above all, I would not like to deny anyone the right to learn something. And I think that even the worst hardliners in the party leadership are able to find a certain reason. I do not want to rule this out. In this connection, I would like to point out that in particular in the lower echelons of the leadership there may be poeple who could come to more reasonable conclusions.

Views Situation in Hungary, Poland

AU2308115489 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 23 Aug 89 p 3

[Werner Stanzl report on "exclusive" interview with former Foreign Minister Hiri Hajek in Prague on 21 August: "...Gorbachev Needs Our Regime"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Hajek, who, as ambassador to London, had known the queen in her twenties, says about the Prague regime: "Of course, Gorbachev is grateful for the time being that the Prague regime represents a certain stability. The same applies to Honecker. Just look at the dynamic, even dramatic developments in Hungary and Poland. These developments, together with thousands of other problems, must be causing a big headache for Gorbachev.

"Of course, I am a fan of Gorbachev, just like you, I suppose, together with millions of people on both sides of the Warsaw Pact border. However, this does not really help Gorbachev at the moment. I think that he simply would not be able to cope with additional troubles in Prague or East Berlin. I think that he is grateful for every respite that he is given. Our regime in Prague and Honecker in Berlin are giving it to him..."

On the development in Poland, Hajek states: "I am glad that the noncommunists are so sensible as to give the interior and defense ministries to the communists. I do not think that officials in the political bodies of the Warsaw Pact would sit down at the same table with noncommunists. The marshals of the Warsaw Pact states would probably never agree to such a thing. They would rather seek different solutions."

Military solutions?

"Well, I think that Gorbachev has set certain priorities: First he wants to draft a comprehensive concept of European security and establish the common European home, and then he wants to dissolve the alliances. I am sure that Gorbachev would not agree to a reversal of the order, which would amount to first dissolving the Warsaw Pact, and then establishing the European home. He is not going to do that."

Asked whether he thinks that it is not possible for Gorbachev to do that or whether he does not want to do that, Hajek points out: "Well, I would say that it is not possible for him to want that. To achieve understanding, the whole Warsaw Pact must be assembled on the one side."

What about Hungary?

"I hope that the Hungarians do not repeat Imre Nagy's mistake. Nobody knows, how things would have developed in 1956 if Imre Nagy had not made the—in my view—terrible mistake of proclaiming Hungary's neutrality. It is true that he was hard-pressed but he should never have given in. In this way, he endangered stability in Europe.

What about the 1968 events in Prague?

"Well, Kissinger contacted me at the time. He literally asked me not to repeat Imre Nagy's mistake because this would plunge Europe into unrest. I was able to reassure him when I told him: Mr Kissinger, we know very well that we can only improve things on the basis of the European order."

Asked whether he thinks that Hungarians share this view today, he stresses: "Unfortunately I do not know. Following my most recent trip to Austria and Norway, where my son is living, I visited the Socialist International in Stockholm. When I returned to the CSSR, I had my passport confiscated. Thus, it is not possible for me to get first-hand information.

He was asked how he thinks things will develop in Prague, whether these bogeys must forever remain part of the European order.

"No, certainly not. However, we cannot give any dates. But there is one decisive date: The current leadership wants to introduce a new economic system in January which will provide for the self-management of enterprises. This means that the enterprises will no longer receive subsidies but will have to cover their own costs. This requires a reduction of personnel. This will cause unemployment (a Western diplomat spoke of certainly over 300,000 unemployed). I have recently learned that now they do not want to carry out reforms in such a radical manner in order not create problems that Hungary and Poland are facing at the moment. Well, in such case, the reforms will probably not have the desired effect but problems will emerge all the same."

Appointment of Poland's Mazowiecki Examined

AU2308120689 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 22 Aug 89 p 5

[Martin Komarek article in the "We Comment" column: "T. Mazowiecki Nominated For the Post of Polish Premier; The Polish People's Republic Needs Energetic Government"]

[Text] The government crisis in Poland is nearing its end, at least it seems so, despite the fact that contemporary Poland has already become used to political changes from one day to another. The nomination of T. Mazowiecki as candidate for the post of premier opens up the possibility of establishing a government in which Solidarity will be the strongest component, seconded by two smaller parties, the United Peasant Party (ZSL) and the Democratic Party (SD). Only in June they contested the elections in coalition with the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party]. However, the course of the complex

talks pertaining to the election of the president, and later of the premier, revealed the fragility of this coalition, and the two smaller parties sought a path to the opposition Solidarity.

In recent weeks, its Chairman L. Walesa, together with his closest advisers, conducted very clever politics, even though this was veiled in many controversial statements. It showed that with the existing distribution of forces the premier, C. Kiszczak—nominated by President W. Jaruzelski and duly elected by the Sejm—was unable to form a viasble cabinet. However, Poland, which after the recent sharp hike in prices for basic foodstuffs experienced a strike wave, cannot do without an energetic body of power for long.

Only the future will show whether T. Mazowiecki is the man to form a credible government. One thing is certain: He not only has Solidarity's support, but, in particular, also the support of the strong Catholic Church, with whose highest representatives he maintains personal contacts. He is regarded as a man who asserts moderate stances within Solidarity, the man who headed its delegation at the roundtable talks with the PZPR this year. He is an educated Catholic intellectual who, until now, has been in charge of the weekly SOLIDARNOSC. He does not conceal his intention to form a government of, above all, economic experts, who would be able to guide Poland out of the economic crisis.

The Soviet daily PRAVDA said that the PZPR apparently finds itself in the most difficult period of its history. This was also revealed by the session of its Central Committee on Saturday [19 August], which was held behind closed doors and at which there were even proposals for the PZPR to go into opposition. The PZPR emerged profoundly shaken from the June elections, which showed that its candidates enjoy the trust of a suprisingly low percentage of voters. For example, not even the then Premier M. Rakowski and C. Kiszczak received 50 percent of the votes. It also seems that the radical turn executed by the ZSL and SD came unexpectedly for the PZPR, which has became isolated in the Sejm. Of course, the PZPR demands the defense and interior ministries, which so far have been offered to it by Mazowiecki. After its session on Saturday it decided in favor of a political fight, employing parliamentary and democratic instruments.

Today it is too early to talk about what the future government will look like, even though probably nothing will prevent T. Mazowiecki from being approved by the Sejm within a few days, probably on Wednesday [23 August]. Even though what is involved is a historic turn, the continuity of Poland's foreign policy line and its allied bonds will remain intact; this is a point on which Solidarity agrees with the PZPR. However, this also is one of the reasons why the PZPR demands more ministries, especially the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. More problematic is the question of whether the new government will be strong enough and will have the trust of the people to push through energetic economic measures which certainly will not be popular.

Mazowiecki, Walesa Urge Government Cooperation

AU2308124389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Aug 89 p 7

["CTK, zr"-signed report: "Mazowiecki Is Maneuvering; The Premier-Designate Avoids Meeting Comminists; Walesa Threatens the PZPR"]

[Text] Warsaw—The Polish premier-designate, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, on Monday [21 August] told journalists that he will not begin talks on the PZPR's [Polish United Workers Party] participation in the government as long as his appointment as chairman of the Council of Ministers has not been approved by Parliament.

Thus, according to the AFP news agency, T. Mazowiecki rejected the resolution of the PZPR Central Committee, which calls for a cooperation agreement between the PZPR and Solidarity to be concluded prior to T. Mazowiecki's officially taking up the post of premier.

The appointment of the new premier is to be discussed by the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic at its session on Wednesday [23 August].

On Monday [21 August] Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa also rejected the conclusions of the Saturday [19 August] session of the PZPR Central Committee. According to REUTER, he threatened the PZPR, saying that "it will have no chance in the future" unless it cooperates with Solidarity in forming a new government.

Polish Article on August '68 Reported

AU1808122089

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 17 August on page 6 carries a 1,700-word unattributed report entitled "TRYBUNA LUDU Article." In its introductory remarks, RUDE PRAVO says: "TRYBUNA LUDU, the press organ of the Polish United Workers Party, has published an article headlined 'The Czechoslovak August 21 Years Later,' in which it assesses the events of 1968 in our country from a Polish perspective. Naturally, the article does not address some aspects of the problem, such as the fact that Alexander Dubcek, first secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee at that time, did not react to sincerely-meant warnings from the allies, and that he deceived them, which, to a decisive degree, influenced the allies' attitude towards the then Czechoslovak leadership. On balance, however, the TRYBUNA LUDU article represents an important standpoint which provides an objective assessment of the events above."

The RUDE PRAVO report continues with extensive quotes from the TRYBUNA LUDU article. The Polish daily is first quoted as having said that "it is natural" that the current "new assessment" of the most recent past should include also the five Warsaw Pact member states' "joint military operation in Czechoslovakia" in August 1968. The interest in this event is "understandable," the Polish paper is said to have continued, because it was "an unprecedented case of a joint military operation by a group of allied states against a Warsaw Pact ally." Although the distance of 20 years may allow a "new, critical, and more objective view" of the events of those days, RUDE PRAVO's quote continues, it would nonetheless "be wrong to apply present-day criteria and concepts" to that period.

The RUDE PRAVO report then quotes those parts of the TRYBUNA LUDU article, in which the Polish daily deals with the international situation and with the prevailing concept of socialism in 1968, and explains why the developments in Czechoslovakia were perceived in the other socialist countries as a threat to socialism and the Warsaw Pact alliance. The report also quotes remarks made by Polish party leader Gomulka after the "operation," in which he explained the motives for Poland's military participation in it.

The RUDE PRAVO report then quotes TRYBUNA LUDU as having conceded that "there is no doubt that for a long time to come there will continue to be a debate about the degree to which the assessments made at that time were accurate, whether the decisions based on them were justified, whether they were needed at all in the form which they took, and whether the final outcome was advantageous or whether it also entailed losses." The subsequent, closing part of the TRYBUNA LUDU article is only summarized. The RUDE PRAVO rendition of this part of the article reads: "The TRYBUNA LUDU article then touches upon some attempts being made in Poland at interpreting the Czechoslovak events in a simplified and one-sided manner (as the Senate has done). Relations with our southern neighbor, our second largest economic partner and a country with which we are linked by numerous cooperation ties, must remain protected. This is dictated by our national interest, by the Polish raison d'etat, the paper stresses. The article goes on to recall the Bucharest statement of the Political Consultative Committee and M. Gorbachev's speech in Strasbourg. In conclusion, the article stresses that history cannot be reversed. One can only seek to create a better history. What is decisive is the fact that the parties whose leaders made that decision, and not another one, in August 1968 have become the driving forces of the restructuring of relations among our nations."

Party Press on 21 Aug Anniversary
AU2208110689

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 18 and 19 August and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 18 August publish the following items related to the anniversary of the August 1968 events in Czechoslovakia:

On 18 August both party papers publish a 1,800-word front-page editorial, entitled "The Irreversibility of the Socialist Path," which affirms, inter alia, the validity of the assessment of the 1968 events as contained in the "Lessons" document of the early seventies. On the same page both party papers carry the 350-word "CSSR Government Statement," in which the Government appeals to Czechoslovak citizens to support its efforts to prevent a "misuse" of the anniversary of 21 August 1968. Also on 18 August, on page 4, RUDE PRAVO carries a 1,400-word Jan Jelinek article entitled "They Weathered a Heavy Storm." The article contains reminiscences of the 1968 events by several members of the People's Militia from Brno. They recall the "witch hunts" organized against them and their families by "advocates of socialism with a 'human face'" after the "entry" of Warsaw Pact troops in August 1968, when they used to receive anonymous letters threatening them with "physical liquidation." They also recall the events of 21 August 1969, the first anniversary of the Warsaw Pact troops' "entry," when People's Militia members, who "guarded public order" in the streets of Brno, became the target of attacks by "aggressive storm troops" made up of "antisocialist elements." Jelinek stresses that the People's Militia members' "painful" memories must not be forgotten, "all the more so as even today some people demand the abolition of the People's Militia, vent their hatred against the men in blue uniforms, and address threats to them." The People's Militia members interviewed by Jelinek report that, even this year, they have found "anonymous threats" in their mailboxes, which they attribute to "incitement by illegal structures."

On 18 August, on page 8, RUDE PRAVO carries a 150-word "CTK, zr"-signed Warsaw dispatch on a Polish Sejm statement on the Czechoslovak events of 1968, which accuses the Sejm of supporting "reactionary forces which seek the destabilization of social development in Czechoslovakia."

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 18 August on page 3 carries a 2,000-word article by Jan Pleva, entitled "What Is at Issue These Days," which discusses the activities of "the so-called independent initiatives," with special emphasis on their endeavor to reassess the events of the years 1968-69. On the same day, on page 7, PRAVDA carries a 200-word CTK report on the Polish Sejm statement on Czechoslovakia.

On 19 August, on page 1, RUDE PRAVO carries a 1,200-word report on the 18 August session of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Presidium, which rejected attempts to reappraise the events of 21 August and criticized the standpoint adopted by the Hungarian party leadership on 15 August. On the same page, RUDE PRAVO carries a 300-word statement by the Presidiums of the Federal Assembly's People's Chamber and Chamber of Nations on the Polish Senate and Polish Sejm statements on the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

On the same day, on page 7, RUDE PRAVO carries a 900-word CTK report on a NEUES DEUTSCHLAND article on the anniversary and a 100-word report on a press conference given by Josef Havlin, CSSR ambassador in Warsaw, where he spoke about "efforts to provoke unrest in connection with the approaching anniversary of the events of August 1968."

Demonstration Serves Charter 77 Interests

LD2208182689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Our editor Zdenek Tomas has the following comment in the context of the foreign backing for the illegal structures in our country, which was amply demonstrated in the last few days around 21 August:

[Tomas] Yesterday's events showed that the latest wave of tourism in disguise serves the plans of Charter 77 and its offshoots to try to stir up unrest, and so it was that Prague was flooded last weekend with an unprecedentedly large number of foreign visitors. While there were something like 8,000 Italian visitors here in August, on Saturday and Sunday another 1,000 supporters of the Italian Radical Party were here. This, by the way, is a party which relies on provocative methods and demonstrations in socialist countries. At home, the Italians no longer consider it a serious political party, especially after the Radicals put up the porno-Star La Cicciolina as their party's candidate to parliament, and after the well-known terrorist Toni Negri became one of the party leaders. The representatives of this bizarre coterie arrived in Prague to put into effect the call by Pavel Tigrid who advised illegal groups via Radio Free Europe to—and I quote—kick the Czechoslovak regime into giving up power. And just so that they didn't feel too lonely, they were joined by 3,000 supporters from Polish Solidarity and other would-be tourists who were activists of the Hungarian FIDESZ, or Federation of Democratic Youth, an organization which, at home, has already caused a serious split in the youth movement.

Banners, chants and shouts in broken Czech on Wenceslas Square and around it sought to lecture us about freedom. The foreign supporters of Charter 77 and their ilk, however, forgot one thing: Most decent people in our country reject their advice, and that is why the attempt to misuse the anniversary of the events in August 1968 met a resolute rebuff from all those who want to work in peace and contribute to the restructuring program.

Illegal Groups' Independence 'Fiction'

AU1808135189 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY 17 Aug 89 p 2

[Rudolf Janik article: "A Strange 'Independence'"]

[Text] In their statements illegal groups, as a rule, do not forget to stress their independence. Charter 77 is independent of state power. In each of its "reports" the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Prosecuted (VONS) presents its independence from the CSSR Constitution and the laws which are valid in Czechoslovakia. It recognizes only international law and the pacts which endorse human rights and freedoms. In its independence, just like Charter 77, from which it separated in 1978, it goes as far as to recognize only its own interpretation of "civil freedoms and human rights."

The so-called Czechoslovak Helsinki Committee, for example, ignores the existence of the Czechoslovak Peace Committee under whose competence fall some of the activities associated with the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Some groups have attached "independent" directly onto their name: Group of Independent Writers, Group of Independent Publicists, Independent Ecological Movement, and so on.

Although they want to operate "in society" and although they want to conduct a dialogue, with their independence they place themselves outside of and above society, above the citizens to whom they like to turn with their appeals to struggle for freedom and democracy. Their independence rather imparts elitism and megolomania toward others. However, they are not as completely independent as they claim.

Unpleasantness With Apartheid

In their initial statement from 1977 the Chartists announce that they will "monitor violations of human rights and civil freedoms in this country and in the world." However, reality is otherwise. They have only attempted sporadically to fulfill this principle in their independence. Some Charter 77 statements on international political issues were and still are—as the emigre newspaper CESKE SLOVO euphemisitically put it in June 1987—regarded as "contentious." In other words, unacceptable both for radical Chartists and for Czechoslovak anticommunist emigres.

This was reflected specifically in the reaction of some Chartists, but mainly in the reaction of anticommunist-oriented emigres, to the letter which Charter 77 sent to the South African Bishop D. Tutu (Charter 77 document no. 21/1985), signed by J. Dienstbier, E. Kanturkova, P. Sustrova, and L. Lis (as the chairman of VONS). In the letter the Chartists condemn apartheid, reject any form of discrimination, and denounce the policy of the Government of the Republic of South Africa as "immoral, malign, and lacking perspective". They can consider themselves lucky that the letter was conceived in the second half of the "election period" for the Charter spokespersons. Otherwise, obviously, on the basis of an intervention from outside, they would have been replaced; the view of those who say that they are independent also met with such a reception. Whereas the

Chartists can blatantly manifest their "independence" from an antisocialist position, when the interests and intentions of anticommunism are threatened this independence is not much use.

It is impossible to talk about independence, even in the case of the selection of the spokespersons for a given year. For example, the selection of J. Hajek as a Charter 77 spokesman was strongly criticized. J. Tesar, a former member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia—that is, a person whose fate is similar to that of Hajek's—even wrote J. Hajek a letter on 20 February 1978 in which he recommended that as a Charter spokesman he should clearly state in his interviews with foreign correspondents that "he is speaking only for himself" (Democracy in Exile, December 1986). So are even the Charter spokespersons "independent"? I. Svitak, one of the ideological authors of the "Prague Spring" in the philosophy sphere, has also written at great length about what the Charter should or should not do. In order to achieve the politicization of the Charter and other illegal groups, he publishes forceful articles "The Charter is Dead!, Long Live the Charter" and "The Meaning of the Charter—Cunning Ambiguity!"

As if They Lived in a Vacuum

Independence as the Chartists represent it is unacceptable. It is impossible to live independently or even to act independently. In a certain sense and to a certain extent, it is always necessary to exhibit dependence. Everything else is camouflage. It is only an attempt to step outside one's own shadow. The fact is that the independence about which the illegal groups convince their supporters is mere fiction and the obliteration of reality.

For example, the Chartists' dependence on the emigre press is significant. Someone living abroad would hardly know more details and deliberately distorted facts about the Chartists if journals such as SVEDECTVI (Paris), ZPRAVODAJ (Switzerland), NARODNI POLITIKA (Munich), and others did not popularize its activity and orientation.

It is not even possible to talk about independence in relation to the contents of various Charter documents. Many times they have drawn information from material prepared and drafted in Czechoslovak anticommunist emigre centers. The "Declaration by the LISTY Group on the Prague Spring," signed by Z. Mlynar, Z. Hejzlar, J. Pelikan, and A. Muller, for example, by its very contents is strikingly similar to "The Point of View on the 20th Anniversary of August 1968" signed by a number of Chartists and published in the first and second issues of Pelikan's LISTY in 1988. The Chartists' propagated "independence" becomes preeminent when we compare previous documents with the statement by "Revival—A Club for Socialist Restructuring" from February 1989, extracts of which were broadcast by the BBC and Radio Free Europe. It will stand out more when we link the evolution of the new "independent" group with the visit made to Vienna by the Chartist J. Hajek when he was provided with a fitting advertisement in Austria and in the West by his old buddies of the same ilk—Mlynar, Pelikan, Hejzlar, and their "opportunistic stooges of all trends," as F. Uhl put it in the emigre NOVE OBZORY no.25-26 1989.

The Chartists are definitely not independent and nor are the other independent groups. On the contrary, they are conspicuously dependent, especially on support from outside. Inside our country they are dependent, first and foremost, on the objective fact that in the CSSR they are in the minority.

Vaculik Appeals to Government

AU2108204989 Vienna WOCHENPRESSE in German 18 Aug 89 pp 42-43

["From the appeal by CSSR writer and Charter 77 member Ludvik Vaculik to the Prague leadership: 'The Leading Power and the Cowards'"]

[Text] We all draw one conclusion or another from the decline of the state, society, economy, and nature, but our Communist Party, which has pioneered this decline, is drawing the most banal conclusion.

While it admits to some mistakes from time to time under the burden of events, it still reserves for itself the "leading role" to the surprise of the people. It also claims the right to eternally make mistakes, even though there have always been, and still are, people in our country who recognize these mistakes immediately, or even before they are committed.

How did the so-called solidarity of our Communists stand the test in the leading role? I think it did not stand its test except in one thing, and even there it did not succeed: in agriculture. Agriculture provides sufficient food, which is remarkable in comparison with Poland and the Soviet Union, but are these countries yardsticks for us? Furthermore, economists can give us shocking data about the efficiency of this agricultural production and about the quality of its products. However, I always think of how this kind of mass production destroys the village and the peasantry; it has been moral genocide.

Today no one personally loves these alienated fields, or more precisely, no one is being ennobled by his relationship with them—everyone only pursues profit. The peasant, the farmer, or the large landowner—none of them would permit profit at the cost of destroying the substance. The treatment of animals today is criminal and the Communists do not hold a meeting on this topic. When they discuss, for instance, the development of transportation, road construction, and making rivers navigable, this is only the reverse side of the problem, because its front side is more modest consumption, the reduction of production, and lowering the demands on transportation, etc. And others know this before the Communist Party. It has already managed 50 times to

destroy the education sector; the health sector is insufficient both for the sick and healthy. Culture has been surviving for 40 years like a drowning person: For a second it rises above the surface of the water and takes a deep breath in order to survive the deathly minutes under water.

Now they have permitted some authors to be published, but for 20 years they have claimed that they have not banned any. Accepting this "permission" with thanks, however, means at the same time approving the ban. Now they say that we have turned our back on "society"; however, we are standing firm as in 1968; they are the ones who have stumbled. Give me one single example of an issue in which the Communist Party was a pioneer and stood its test! And when we remember something good or beautiful, which developed during this time, we do this with a sigh—thinking of how much more, and earlier, and cheaper it could be without their leadership. In writing, I take care to express only my opinion—without insulting words. Recently the investigating official of the state security service summoned me because of the feuilleton "Communism Means Beating" and said that he could indict me but that he would not do so, because in my feuilletons there allegedly always something worth considering, but this time I had not used the usual prudence. I have thought about this. I cannot stop writing, but I do not want to act as if this warning had not been given, nor do I want to turn into someone to whom nothing can happen. It would also be tasteless to assume a privilege while others are being persecuted for less. However, after everything that has happened in Soviet Georgia and in China I could write "Communism Means Beating, Volume Two." However, I will stick to domestic issues.

We all expect the Soviet Government to forswear the Brezhnev Doctrine and to describe the attack of August 1968 as a mistake or a crime. If our Communists wanted to take the lead, they would anticipate this. Of course, this is ridiculous because after one single question—"What do you think about the invasion of the armies..."—was answered, they sorted out the people into the proud and the cowards. A "leading power" that chooses cowards—where does it lead the nation?

It is not true that without the leadership of the Communist Party chaos would develop, that there is no one with whom one could discuss matters, whom one could ask for cooperation, or to whom one could quietly hand over office. It is not true that there are no people who could take things in hand responsibly—as the opposition sometimes assumes. I think that the government institutions and organs themselves are crammed full with qualified opposition: an opposition of reason, without the preliminary condition of the "leading role." It is sufficient to free the path of reason and reason will come to leadership by itself and in a natural way! I have been observing a man called Adamec (the CSSR premier) and with respect for his damned position, I am waiting for what he will manage, how long he will stay, when he will shed tears about his reward, and when he will collapse in despair about the "leading role of the Communist Party." I wish him success, even though this success might be only the timely retreat—a signal to others—to save his honor, but, of course, I wish him better and more important successes.

The Communist Party, the strongest pressure group, which pays excellently, and which has relied on foreign powers for 40 years; whose diplomats guide it, and whose centers of ideological diversion and whose transmitters it uses, is now preparing a new "constitution" for us. It has entered the constitutional territory and has immediately staked out its claim there: the "leading role' for its children and grandchildren. For a freely thinking and proud Czechoslovak, however, this is now out of the question! No leading role in the constitution—for no one! Instead, the Constitution must contain paragraphs, which prohibit the use of the Army against one's own people, and which makes it impossible that our children have to play Russians in Georgia or Cubans in Angola at some time in the future. Is this not a progressive thought?

One should decide on the new constitution in a referendum, because parliament in its current composition does not have any democratic qualification for this. I think, this is a good idea. We will not hinder even the Communists from advancing it.

Opposition Aims, Activity Analyzed

AU2108141989 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 Aug 89 p 3

[Article by Professor Jan Pleva, LLD, doctor of sciences, Bratislava: "What Is At Issue These Days; A Word on the Activity of the So-Called Independent Initiatives"]

[Excerpts] The successes of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] and of the Czechoslovak people are a thorn in the flesh of some individuals and isolated groups and their wealthy sponsors in the capitalist West. During the recent "round" anniversaries of our modern history, we were able more than once to witness their efforts to destabilize social conditions in the republic. As they find the policy of both the Communist Party and the socialist state uncongenial, they are trying to form programmatic platforms that are hostile to socialism, with a view to involving parts of society—especially young people, who lack first-hand experience of the events of the late sixties—in antisocial activities. They pass themselves off as the forerunners of democratization and restructuring, a policy which they supposedly started as early as 1968. The internationalist assistance which the socialist allies extended to Czechoslovakia supposedly prevented the implementation of the principles set forth in the CPCZ's Action Program of April 1968.

It is therefore worth considering what aims the present campaign by the so-called independent initiatives and their Western supporters pursues. Is it a coincidence linked with the forthcoming August anniversary, a purposeful graduation of means designed to trigger a new wave of the internal erosion of socialism in Czechoslovakia, or is it a continuation of what their predecessors were forced to abandon 20 years ago?

In order to understand many facts, it is necessary to recall the historical experience of the people of 20 years ago. The destruction of the socialist social system in the years of crisis was made possible by the legal operation of antisocialist forces and organizations. They were developing their activity outside the framework of the National Front. By the content of their activities and by their orientation, these were expressly counterrevolutionary opposition organizations. [passage omitted]

The older generation and middle-aged people will surely remember what role these organizations played in the last days of August 1968 and throughout the following year, up until August 1969. [On 21 August 1969] They tried to gain control of Wenceslas Square in Prague, of the Slovak National Uprising Square in Bratislava, and of the streets in some other cities of the republic. The outcome of their gamble in connection with the anniversary were 4 dead persons; 316 wounded members of the National Security Corps, 48 of them severely wounded; 31 wounded People's Militia members, 4 of them severely; 25 wounded members of the Czechoslovak People's Army, 2 of them severely; 13 wounded members of fire brigades, 2 of them severely; and 35 wounded citizens, 8 of them severely.

The tragic confrontation took place despite warnings by the party and state leadership against "struggle being forced" on them and against the consequences of such struggle. Even today it will do no harm to remind some people that the antisocialist forces' course of action at that time had been paralyzed thanks to the employment of legal measures adopted by the Federal Assembly Presidium to strengthen and protect public order. Among the signatories of these measures were O. Cernik as federal premier and other representatives of the then party and state leadership. Today some of them write and speak differently, as if they had been uninvolved at that time.

But let us turn our attention to the present. We once again bear witness to the activation of forces which step up destructive antisocialist activities. Only the level at which this is taking place and the means employed are different. We find among these forces participants in the events of the late sixties, even though as individuals they stood on different sides of the barricade then.

After their defeat in the late sixties, the antisocialist forces regrouped. There were several ideological currents among them, which, however, disintegrated with the departure of some of their representatives to the West. They stepped up their activity once again after the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The conference and its Final Act spurred some individuals into new action. [passage omitted] Another activation of antisocialist forces occurred in the mid-eighties. This is testified to by the inception of new groups—the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Prosecuted, the Independent Peace Association, the Democratic Initiative, the T.G. Masaryk Society, the Society of Friends of the United States, the Circle of Czechoslovak-Polish Solidarity, the Independent Ecological Initiative, the Children of Bohemia, the Czech North, the Movement for Civil Liberty, the Social Defense Initiative, the Czechoslovak Helsinki Committee, the Groups of Independent Writers and Journalists, the Jazz Section—Unijazz, Obroda [Revival] the Club for Socialist Restructuring, and others.

These are small groups, most members of which are intellectuals and many of which are represented by the same people. They spread their influence by means of samizdat periodicals, of which there are scores. About 30 titles are published in Prague and about 10 in Bratislava and other cities in Slovakia. With its 4,000 copies, the so-called LIDOVE NOVINY has the largest print run of them all. Information and documents are being spread also by means of videocassettes with recorded programs directed against the policy of the CPCZ and the Government. These groups cooperate also with the so-called East European Information Agency, which coordinates the activity of opposition forces in the socialist countries, with emphasis on the exchange of information for various campaigns. They are in daily telephone and information contact with their fellow workers in the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, BBC, and other Western radio and television agencies.

In the ranks of these initiatives there exist several currents in terms of opinion. Militantly radical groups are pressing for a sharp confrontational line. These groups proceed in a coordinated fashion at present, in line with the principles of the so-called Action Program of the Democratic Initiative. These include the writing of letters and various petitions to party and government officials, the publication of messages to citizens, and the organizing of various events and public gatherings. With the publication of "A Few Sentences" they recently unleashed a campaign which is linked with a broadly organized collection of signatures. The aim is to gain 1 million signatures in order to demonstrate mass appeal. At present they devote particular attention to the propagation of protest and commemorative actions on the day of the anniversary of the granting of internationalist assistance. They are doing so with the aid of some Western radio stations, which amounts, in fact, to gross interference in internal Czechoslovak affairs. Also in this way, they would like to influence the thinking of a part of the population.

A different and more elaborate line is being enforced by a group of reformists from among the civil initiatives.

This group is represented by some former CPCZ functionaries headed by A. Dubcek, O. Cernik, C. Cisar, V. Mencl, and other former functionaries of the social democratic party. With the aid of Obroda—the Club for Socialist Restructuring they would like to acquire a mass base from the ranks of expelled and struck off CPCZ members. They publish various documents and statements which ostensibly support restructuring and democratization. Recently A. Dubcek and O. Cernik turned to the governments and Central Committees of the communist parties of the Hungarian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Bulgarian People's Republic, the GDR, and the USSR with an open letter, in which they provide a peculiar assessment of their own policy in the years 1968-69 and of Czechoslovak developments over the past 20 years.

The aim of the handful of representatives of the so-called civil initiatives is to bring about ideological disruption and to spread destabilizing sentiments. They concentrate on a reassessment of the internationalist assistance of August 1968, on the condemnation of the entry of Warsaw Pact troops, and on revoking the conclusions of the political document "Lessons Drawn from the Critical Development in the Party and in Society After the 13th CPCZ Congress." They want to disrupt creative activity as the CPCZ and society are entering the culminating precongress period.

By their firm attitude and by the standpoints they are assuming, our working people—CPCZ members and those without party affiliation alike—are giving a clear negative reply to the adventurous actions of the opposition forces. The CPCZ's unity with the people, conscientious work and discipline, and creative deeds furnish evidence of [people's] support for the path of restructuring, democratization, and further development of the socialist society on which we have embarked.

'Irreversibility' of Socialism

AU2208085689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Aug 89 p 1

[Editorial: "The Irreversibility of the Socialist Path"]

[Text] The changes which are taking place in our country throughout the social sphere require systematic attention and the concentrated effort of all the working people, especially, in the national economy. The conditions in which production will be further developed are markedly changing under the influence of the operation of the new mechanism of management. More than 740 state enterprises have been established since 1 July. New conditions of management are already being implemented in agriculture. Organizational restructuring of the production technology, research and development, and distribution bases has practically reached its peak.

However, this is only the beginning of the envisaged overall changes. The adopted measures untie the enterprises' hands and strengthen their independence and entrepreneurship. Via the self-management organs, the manufacturing collectives are embarking upon departmental management founded upon full economic accountability. In the enterprises and plants and in the working collectives themselves people are beginning to decide directly about whether the products which the consumers need and demand will be obtained on our market and on the foreign market. And they are also making decisions about whether quality work will be well appreciated, morally and financially, while lazy workers and various parasites should not live so well in our country.

Legislative barriers are gradually being removed, barriers which economic workers come up against in practice while managing and making decisions on the product, costs, prices, and marketing. Legal norms are being worked out so that they correspond to the new conditions of management in accordance with the principles of reform. A proposal for the new Constitution is being intensively prepared—so far, within a circle of experts—a proposal which will be submitted to broad public discussion. The party congress will take place a year earlier (10 May 1990) and a number of important documents are being prepared for its agenda, inter alia, the principles for the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia program. All of this creates necessary prerequisites for the successful implementation of the tasks of the comprehensive economic and social reform of our society, tasks which were outlined at the seventh CPCZ Central Committee session in December 1987.

The tenacity of purpose of such a course of action, a sense for the chronology of the tasks, and for the orientation of the program are evident in the performance of state and party organs. It is indisputable that if we are to achieve concrete and positive results soon we must create realistic conditions and prerequisites for their implementation in all spheres of the life of society—we must choose suitable economic instruments, we must make legislation more flexible, and we must systematically intensify socialist democracy.

However, we cannot and we will not be able to resolve everything that we want to resolve immediately and at once. In order to overcome the problems with which we are faced we need, first and foremost, to put the national economy in order and we must insure its dynamic development. Only on this basis can we also resolve tasks in the education, social care, health care, and ecological sectors. Again it is only possible to invest what we have already earned. That is the simple and comprehensible logic of the matter.

At the same time, we know that there are unsatisfied and impatient fellow citizens in our society for whom the course of the changes, so far, seems slow. There are also distrustful people. They refer to the fact that in the past there have already been many good intentions which have never been implemented. Words and deeds have often parted ways. But there are also people who are used

to only taking from the common table and who are used to living off the work of others. However, let us admit that for years we ourselves fostered the "consumer mentality of socialism." The simplified egalitarian concept of social justice according to the principle "that everyone lives well," irrespective of their endeavor, continues to take revenge on us.

Rightly, we can include in our society's positive balance not only the decent standard of living of the majority of our people but also its social security and its educated base. Let us always say this openly everywhere that even under socialism people will not be rewarded equally but on the basis of the results of their work, according to their contribution to our common table. Therefore, it is also very necessary to quickly forget about the damaging theory of "similar stomachs."

Let us also say openly that the programmed enemies of socialism (even they also belong to today's realities) find their base, first and foremost, among morally unstable and self-seeking people who will never be satisfied with anything because they have created an idol out of money and property. It is not by chance that this sector of society is again becoming active, that under the guise of various slogans on civil rights and freedoms, and even with the aid of conspicuous demagogy, it is attempting to "unite" under its influence various slighted, unsatisfied, and wavering people. Like a wolf in sheep's clothing they wrap themselves up in slogans for the rebirth of socialism. On the outside they even stand up for socialism and for restructuring, in fact they have nothing in common with socialism and restructuring.

A platform for the "unification" of all these forces inside our society in 1968 should have been "Two Thousand Words," a pamphlet which appealed for direct subversive acts against the socialist state. Recently the authors of the "Few Sentences" appeal acknowledged this obscure heritage.

It was not difficult to discern where the wind is blowing from—then and now. All the more so because this involved then and involves now the same foreign patron and Maecenas—American radio stations and those political and powerful forces standing behind them.

All those who want to look beneath the surface of matters have the right and the duty to ask the question "whom does this serve", whose interests are the authors of the "Few Sentences" expressing, and who is concealed behind them. There is no doubt that this involves forces and people standing on the reactionary wing of society and the contemporary world.

Without a doubt the socioeconomic restructuring of our society is essential. Much of what we have implemented under other historic conditions and connections has become outdated. It is impossible to continue with similar methods and approaches and want to achieve necessary development. Many other socialist countries realize this fact and, therefore, today they are seeking new ways of stimulating development and they are seeking new approaches and more effective instruments of construction.

In comparison with the history of capitalism, the history of socialism is very young. The common denominator for it is a great struggle—a struggle with barriers of an external and a domestic character. This struggle was and will be in the future unthinkable without mutual aid and solid support. Our closest allies, among them, first and foremost, the Soviet Union, the first country of socialism, have been such a support for our country.

Every step forward which our socialist state takes has been redeemed in a difficult struggle with reactionary forces at home and on an international scale. One of the most complicated tests for our society was the political and social crisis at the end of the 1960's, still under the conditions of the cold war. We successfully overcame this crisis with the assistance of our allies. Experiences from these events were analysed by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in a number of documents and are expressed, in particular, in the conclusions of the Lesson document. The validity of these conclusions is still being confirmed by the realities of development.

First and foremost, it is the experience, and not only ours, that each generation of a socialist society takes one fundamental obligation upon itself: to know how to protect and develop, develop and protect socialism gained in difficult revolutionary struggles.

The CPCZ is orienting our society toward the creative development of socialist practice under Czechoslovak national conditions. In this effort we depend both on our own strengths and on the solidarity and experiences of our friends and allies. We are striving for closer cooperation with the rest of the world. We fully support the principles of the new thinking in international relations, principles formulated by Mikhail Gorbachev and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We identify with them and we are projecting them in the practical steps of our foreign policy.

In this honest and prospective endeavor we do not have the right to remain silent either in front of each other or in front of the rest of the world about the fact that in our society attempts are being made to orient the development in our country in another way—in a direction toward the renewal of the old order, toward the old reactionary political structures which were rejected by our history. Against these forces endeavoring to confront the socialist state we are marking out a policy of uniting society for positive work in the interest of the further development of socialism. The program of economic and social restructuring, inspired by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and fully supported by the other political parties and all the National Front social organizations, gives this a chance.

In the spirit of this struggle for "more socialism" and "more democracy" Czechoslovak Communists are now preparing for their 18th congress. In preparing for the congress the party is actively reacting to development in our country and in the world with an awareness of its own responsibility for the future of our society. The more united its ideological course of action and the firmer the discipline of Communists, the more successful will this endeavor be.

From the time when our people embarked upon the road of the reconstruction of socialism, Czechoslovakia has always felt itself to be an inseparable part of the global forces of peace and social progress. This is its irreversible and constant credo just as the socialist path which our people chose by their own revolutionary struggle is irreversible.

Dubcek Barred From Attending Paris Youth Meeting

AU2308114189 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1000 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] The CSSR authorities have barred Alexander Dubcek, who was party chief during the Prague Spring, from traveling to Paris. Dubcek planned to participate in the International Youth Meeting for Democracy and Human Rights. He had already promised the organizers that he would attend the meeting. The organizers are accusing Prague of violating the Helsinki Final Act with the travel ban.

Urbanek Addresses Peace Rally in Plostina

AU2308104689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Aug 89 pp 1, 2

[CTK report on speech by Karel Urbanek, member of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic, at the Celebration of Peace and Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship at the national memorial at Plostina near Gottwaldov on 19 August: "They Expressed Their Yearning For Peace"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Karel Urbanek said that our country is also contributing to the current peace efforts: It has been decided to reduce the numerical strength of the Czechoslovak People's Army and its combat technology; we have submitted a proposal for establishing a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact member states and NATO. However, the NATO states do not react in a corresponding manner, they continue their policy from the position of strength and the strategy of nuclear intimidation. Nevertheless, we will continue to strive to make disarmament become an irreversible process, to eliminate confrontation and hostility from international relations, to develop political partnerships, cooperation, and mutual understanding. [passage omitted]

At present we must concentrate our main attention on implementing tasks which are connected with fulfilling the national economic plans, completing the economic reform, strengthening the domestic market, and solving the problems that embitter our lives. In addition, tasks in other spheres cannot be successfully solved without an economy that functions well.

The process of social restructuring leads to a broad activation of people, Karel Urbanek noted. However, individuals and groups have also started to become active which strive to misuse the endeavor of the party and of the major part of society for their own political objectives.

They magnify our shortcomings, and yet many of them have played a part in them. In a non-historical manner [nehistoricky], outside of internal and external contexts, they strive to discredit the entire period of socialist construction. They force upon our citizens and, in particular, upon the young people the notion that the problems we have can only be resolved by abandoning the path of socialist construction. People are not indifferent to the activation of antisocialist forces. This is evidenced by the thousands of letters sent by work collectives and individuals to the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. The majority of the people are not interested in the pseudodemocracy which these groups have been forcefully promoting, or in returning to the pre-February or pre-Munich conditions. The issue of political power in our country was definitely decided in February 1948. Whoever demands the overturning of this reality excludes himself from the social dialogue. [passage omitted]

Our working people are following the course of restructuring in the USSR with understanding and wish the Soviet people and the CPSU much creative strength and energy in realizing the objectives they have set themselves. We also follow the developments in Poland and Hungary with great attention. We consider them to be very instructive.

Genuine democracy, he stressed further, is incompatible with destructive actions by individuals or groups which are focused on achieving ambitious objectives. We are carrying out restructuring in harmony with the creative development of Marxist-Leninist teaching, and we must not allow ourselves to be led astray from that path.

Interview with Socialist Party Chairman Kucera

AU2108150789

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 18 August on page 3 carries a 2,200-word interview with Bohuslav Kucera, deputy chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly and chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, by Kamila Jaskova, entitled "We Stand Firmly on the Platform of the National Front." The date and place of the interview are not given. In the interview, Kucera discusses his party's endorsement of the policy of

restructuring and democratization and its support for the "activation" of the National Front. In this context, he refers to various initiatives by members and organizations of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party and praises the fact that the party's suggestions are being approached "with all due seriousness." Kucera mentions that the number of members of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party "has slightly increased in the last 2 years" and that the party now has "around 16,000 members in 535 primary organizations," which operate in 1,600 localities of the Czech Socialist Republic. About 1,000 party members are said to be working as deputies of national committees, 18 are said to be members of the CSSR Federal Assembly, and 15 members of the Czech National Council. Kucera also notes that, "in view of the rapid movement in our society," the Czechoslovak Socialist Party decided to bring the date of its next national conference forward by 1 year, to January 1991.

In conclusion, Kucera stresses that his party—which "stands firmly on the platform of our National Front"—advocates "a businesslike and clear-headed discussion of all problems of the present and the expression of alternative views" but that it rejects "the stirring up of emotions and pressure actions."

Opinion Poll Reveals Optimism About Future

AU1808081089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Aug 89 p 2

[Interview with Josef Dubsky, Dr of Philosophy, by RUDE PRAVO staff reporter Jana Perglerova: "The Latest Results of a Public Opinion Poll; On the Standard of Living"]

[Excerpts] The activity of the Public Opinion Research Institute attached to the Federal Statistical Office is increasingly entering the subconsciousness of the Czechoslovak public, but also draws the attention of the party and state bodies which respect the principle that today no important issue connected with the life of society can be resolved without taking the state and the dynamics of public opinion into consideration.

The institute regularly follows citizens' views on, among other things, certain aspects of the standard of living, such as, for example, medical services, social security, housing, services, and such. Sociologists are currently intensively working on an analysis of a public opinion poll involving 2,007 citizens from all parts of the CSSR. The analysis will be concluded in October. Journalists—and through them also the public—will be acquainted with its details at a press conference of the Office of the CSSR Government Presidium.

By coincidence we were present when the computer churned out the first results, and asked Dr of Philosophy Josef Dubsky, the head of the polling team, the following questions:

[Perglerova] How do our citizens assess the development of their standard of living in the past 5 years?

[Dubsky] Thirty-eight percent said that their standard of living has improved, 32 percent said that their living standard has remained unchanged, and 29 percent that it has declined.

[Perglerova] Did you also ask about the prospects for the future

[Dubsky] Of course we did. One-third of the citizens expect a favorable development regarding their standard of living, one-fourth expect an unfavorable development. Somewhat more than one-third (36 percent) think that their standard of living will remain unchanged. Thus, the expectations of the majority of citizens are optimistic. [passage omitted]

[Perglerova] Were there more substantial differences in views of some groups of citizens?

[Dubsky] [passage omitted] Young people up to 29 years of age, the inhabitants of smaller villages, and the citizens of the Slovak Socialist Republic are assessing their situation more positively; people over 45, inhabitants of big cities—especially of Prague, and the citizens of the Czech Socialist Republic are more critical in the assessment of their situation.

[Perglerova] Which aspects of the standard of living are being assessed by the peoples as being good and which as being not so good?

[Dubsky] Citizens evaluated the current state of social security, education, and the food situation as being good; their critical comments concerned, in particular, the possibilities of the purchase of industrial goods and clothing, environmental conditions in places of their domicile, the possibility of the purchase of some foodstuffs, services for households, and transportation. [passage omitted]

Prospects for Convertibility of Koruna Examined

AU1808154489

Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 17 August on page 3 under the heading "The Doors Are Open to Competition" carries a 4,000-word article by Milena Horcicova and Michal Voracek on the prospects for the convertibility of the Czechoslovak koruna. According to the authors, convertibility cannot take place now because of internal problems in the CSSR and they add that this is not only a domestic issue but involves the other socialist countries and requires a more

or less coordinated approach. Another barrier is the "unconvertibility of money for goods which is a trait of the administrative system of central planning. This system practically limits the role of money in the economy to a minimum (especially the so-called enterprise money) which is a mirror image of the suppressed functions of the market in intermediary products, investments, and so on".

The authors state that "the present mechanism not only makes currency convertibility impossible, but also does not actually need it." Horcicova and Voracek conclude their article by saying that "the target for the convertibility of the koruna according to the more optimistic version of the time frame will be reached, perhaps, in 15 years, while in the more pessimistic version it will be reached after the year 2010."

DIE WELT Reports Honecker Seriously Ill

AU2308084689 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 23 Aug 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Honecker: He Is Seriously Ill"]

[Text] East Berlin—The condition of the party chief of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Honecker, is still being treated as a state secret 1 week after his gall bladder operation. In spite of that, according to Western diplomats, it became known that he is seriously ill. According to BILD, Honecker prepared for the operation during his vacation on the Baltic Sea. Then he suffered another severe colic, which upset his physicians plans.

TV Commentary Views Kohl News Conference

LD2208195189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1826 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—This evening GDR Television broadcast the following commentary by its Bonn correspondent Olaf Dietze on a press conference of the FRG federal chancellor:

Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl called the international press together today in order to comment on some questions of domestic and foreign policy. His first topic was relations with the GDR. The chancellor said that the Federal Republic is determined to continue the hitherto policy of understanding and cooperation. Specifically he named the spheres of transport and communcations environment protection and economic cooperation. Undoubtedly such a position meets with broad approval in the FRG, especially as they naturally know here that the GDR, too, wants to safeguard and expand what has been achieved in relations.

This is in line with the joint communique signed by Erich Honecker and Helmut Bonn here in Bonn in September 1987. It was also in this spirit that the head of the Chancellor's Office, Seiters, and GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Krolikowski recently spoke with one another. There can be no question that the basis of the bilateral contact with one another is the mutual full respect for the sovereignty, independence and autonomy of each of the two states in its domestic and foreign affairs, that is to say the recognition of the realities.

In the past few weeks certain forces that are obviously bent on disturbing the development of reasonable relations between the two German states have again become very active. This concerns not least the failure to respect the state citizenship.

Many of Kohl's statements to the press in Bonn today also cause one to prick up one's ears. In one of them he was again claiming the duty to care for all Germans, that is to say also for the citizens of the GDR; and in another he spoke of the internal affairs of the other German Republic as though they were his own.

Points such as these are naturally sand in the works of flourishing cooperation. This is how many level-headed politicians here in Bonn see matters. And Kohl's references to the CSCE process do not mean much if he himself violates fundamental stipulations of the Final Act, such as the principle of noninterference.

In addition the federal chancellor said with reference to the incidents concerning the GDR citizens in FRG diplomatic missions that people must not kick up too much of a fuss about it. Even now the FRG media are acting in sharp contrast to this. The frontline reporting continues with just as much rabble-rousing and attacks against the GDR. This also contradicts the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act.

During the press briefing the chancellor announced that he will propose Volker Ruehe as Geissler's successor to the office of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] general secretary. Geissler's dismissal has already caused unease in the CDU yesterday. Some people believe that the switch could lead to a swing to the right of the CDU. The so-called republicans, at any rate, applauded the chancellor. All in all, people are saying here in Bonn, the affair was by no means settled, as today's press briefing also demonstrated.

Daily Criticizes Border Incident at Wahlhausen

AU2208115989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 August 89 p 2

["He." editorial: "Shots in the Dead of Night—What Is Behind Them?"]

[Text] In our weekend edition we reported on the severe provocation against GDR territory in the section of Wahlhausen, Heiligenstadt Kreis. On Thursday night to Friday morning [17 to 18 August] two men fired at border installations, residential buildings, and the church of the village of Wahlhausen, which lies directly on the state border. The assailants fired more than 50 shots, seriously endangering the life and health of the inhabitants of the village and of members of the GDR border forces.

The bullet holes—a total of 55 have been located up to now—for instance those in the apartments of the Feige and Jost families, were shown on Friday night on television in the "Aktuelle Kamera" program; everybody was able to see that this constituted an immediate threat to the life and limb of peaceful citizens.

Of course one has to ask the question: Who were the perpetrators? Where did the shots come from and why? The GDR Permanent Representation protested very strongly to the FRG Chancellery that very Friday. The inhabitants of Wahlhausen and members of the "Wilhelm Pieck" agricultural producer cooperative adopted a protest resolution and condemned the cowardly attack.

The other side, which usually hears the grass grow and, whenever a truck tire bursts near the border, invariably prints the slanderous question "New shots at the border?" on the front pages of its papers in giant letters—well, the other side allegedly knows nothing. Springer's WELT AM SONNTAG concealed the attack in a short notice. Border guards are reported to have found some 90 empty cartridge cases at the bank of the Werra River near Bad Sooden-Allendorf in Hesse on Sunday night. Apart from that, it is "a mysterious incident" and the paper adds the usual phrase that "there is no indication as to the identity of the perpetrators of this incident."

Really no indication? Of course there is such an indication, at least one that points to the entire surroundings of the crime. No matter who fired these shots in the dead of night—does this gun attack not fit neatly into the stirred-up campaign, the agitations against our republic, and the psychological and political attacks? Do the shots not fit into the atmosphere that has been poisoned by neo-Nazis with anticommunist hatred for the socialist German state? A process that is poisoned and instigated not only by the "Republicans" of Franz Schoenhuber, from the "Adolf Hitler" SS-Leibstandarte [elite troops], but also by their secret allies and potential coalition partners from other parties...

If the Western media were as objective as they constantly emphasize they are, they would have realized where things stand. However, this case simply does not seem to be right—in the eyes of the international community—and thus they apply the principle that things that must not happen simply do not happen.

As far as we are concerned, we have not changed our basic attitude, even after this abominable attack on Wahlhausen. We support quiet and orderly conditions at our borders. We are interested and continue to be interested in the normal and peaceful coexistence of both German states. Nobody must play with fire in whatever way at the state border between the GDR and the FRG, that sensitive dividing line between the two world systems. We will continue to do everything for the security of our citizens and our border installations.

It would be good for us all if the other side would also adhere to such principles.

Emigration Wave Causes Personnel Shortages

AU2308100989 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 23 Aug 89 p 1

["D.D." report: "Emigration Wave Leads to Labor Shortage"]

[Text] Berlin—The large number of Germans who have emigrated from the GDR during the past few months—the mass escape via Hungary has not even been taken into consideration—has led to shortages in the GDR's labor market. The Catholic paper TAG DES HERRN, published in Leipzig, reports that several wards had to be closed in East Berlin and Potsdam hospitals because of a shortage of personnel. According to reports from East Berlin, the fact that numerous, mostly young, physicians and nurses have left the GDR is particularly noticeable in the health sphere. The Evangelical Church in the GDR has repeatedly appealed to physicians not to leave the country. There have been no official GDR statements on this topic so far. However, the media have strengthened their campaign calling on enterprises to release workers for other tasks through rationalization.

Honecker Greets Indian Officials on Anniversary

AU2208080089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Aug 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Friendship Between GDR and India Serves Peace"]

[Text] East Berlin— Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council, conveyed greetings telegrams to the president and prime minister of the Republic of India.

The telegram to President Ramaswamy Venkataraman reads as follows:

On the occasion of the 42d anniversary of the proclamation of India's independence, I convey to you, on behalf of the State Council and the people of the GDR, our most cordial greetings.

Since this historic event in the life of your people, India has advanced successfully on the path of social development and, thanks to its resourceful foreign policy, it has gained an esteemed international reputation. It fills me with joy to note that our two states have been close allies in the struggle toward strengthening peace and averting the danger of a nuclear war. I am sure that the friendly ties and the close cooperation between our states and people will be further consolidated.

I wish you good health and creative energy for your responsible work.

Erich Honecker,

General secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

The telegram to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi reads as follows:

On the occasion of the 42d anniversary of the proclamation of India's independence, I would like to express my best wishes to you, the government, and the people of India on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council and the people of the GDR. Let me also express our best wishes for the further success for the benefit of the friendly Indian people.

Your country's committed peace policy is being followed with sympathy and appreciation in the GDR. Our states agree on the view that the change from confrontation to

cooperation in international relations has to be resolutely continued to guarantee the existence of mankind. The GDR will continue to attach great importance to the cooperation between our countries in the interest of peace and detente.

I am convinced that the close and friendly ties between our states will further develop and be strengthened comprehensively.

Please accept my best wishes for your health and well-being.

Erich Honecker,

General Secretary of the SED Central Committee and Chairman of the GDR State Council.

Honecker, Stoph Greet Afghanistan on Anniversary
AU2208141589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19-20 Aug 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Relations in the Spirit of Friendship and Solidarity"]

[Text] East Berlin—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council, conveyed the following telegram to Dr Najibullah, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA]:

On the occasion of Afghanistan's 70th independence anniversary I convey to you, the Central Committee of the PDPA and the Afghan people, the most cordial greetings of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, and the people of the GDR.

Reestablishing Afghan sovereignty in 1919 was a historic event in the history of your country. The GDR advocates that the Afghan people can continue to determine its own fate without any interference. Convinced that there is no reasonable alternative to a peaceful settlement of regional conflicts, the GDR follows with sympathy the PDPA's efforts, as well as those by the government of the Republic of Afghanistan, to implement the courageous course of national reconciliation.

I am sure that the relations between our states and people will continue to develop in the spirit of friendship and solidarity.

I wish you creative strength and success for your responsible work.

Erich Honecker,

General Secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

On the same occasion, Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, sent a greetings telegram to Soltan 'Ali Keshtmand, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Afghanistan.

SED Delegation Received by Guyanese President
AU2208120789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19-20 Aug 89 p 1

[ADN report: "Guyanese Head of State Received SED Delegation"]

[Excerpt] Georgetown—Hugh Desmond Hoyte, president of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana and chairman of the People's National Congress (PNC), received at his residence on Thursday [17 August], the delegation of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], which is taking part in the Eighth PNC Congress. The delegation is headed by Eberhard Heinrich, candidate member of the SED Central Committee. President Hoyte stressed that Guyana attaches great importance to close relations with the GDR, whose achievements in 40 years of socialist construction and whose contribution toward peace are highly appreciated by Guyana and by him personally. He said that he wishes the people of the GDR success in preparing the 12th SED Congress. [passage omitted]

SED Issues Obituary for Comrade Horst Brasch
AU2208113889

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 19-20 August on page 2, under the headline "Comrade Horst Brasch," carries a 350-word obituary by the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) for Comrade Horst Brasch, who died on 18 August 1989, at the age of 66. Horst Brasch had been a "member of the Central Committee for many years" and was "one of the founders of the Free German Youth." During the past 15 years, "Comrade Brasch did unforgettable service to strengthening the GDR's international authority and consolidating friendship and peace among peoples as first vice president and general secretary of GDR League for Friendship Among Peoples."

Comparison of Paper on 1968 Assistance to Prague
AU2108135389

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 18 August 1989 under the headline "Our Solidarity With the CSSR and 21 August 1968," carries a 1400-word commentary on the anniversary of the invasion of the CSSR by Warsaw Pact troops. Comparison of the NEUES DEUTSCHLAND version with the item headlined "Official Daily on 1968 Assistance to CSSR" published in the 18 August East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 19, column one, shows that the two versions are identical except for the following:

Second column, first paragraph, second sentence reads: ...country's alliance with the fraternal states and particularly its incorporation in the socialist defense... (providing additional words)

Second column, third paragraph, last sentence reads: ...all attempts by antiprogressive persons to destabilize the... (providing variant wording).

Further on Seven Hungarians Detained in Prague

Hungarian Groups React

LD2208144689 Budapest MTI in English 1328 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 22 (MTI)—Seven Hungarian citizens have been arrested by the Czech authorities, during the demonstrations held in Prague on Monday [21 August] evening, Pal Stroger, consular official of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed MTI on Tuesday. Besides the seven persons reported arrested, photographers of the weekly magazine "KEPES 7" and the independent daily "MAI NAP" were reported missing last night. No definite information is yet available as to their whereabouts. According to the information received from the Hungarian consul in Prague, Lajos Taba, the consular agreements in effect between our countries are being correctly observed by the Czech authorities. The agreement entitles the Hungarian consul to meet the persons arrested, to participate at their hearings, and to carry out interpreting on request. In response to a question as to the consequences of the presence of Hungarian citizens at the Prague demonstration, Mr Stroger said that recently relevant regulations have been made stricter and the danger exists that the Hungarian presence might be considered interference into the country's internal affairs and sanctioned accordingly.

In their joint communique delivered to MTI, the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ), the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) and the workers' Solidarity Trade Union Federation point out that the reason for their sending delegations to Prague, on the anniversary of the 1968 military intervention, was to assure demonstrators of solidarity. Two delegates of FIDESZ, Gyorgy Kakukk and Andrea Pelle, were stopped from entering Czechoslovakia at the border on August 20. Three representatives of SZDSZ, Roza Hodosan, Laszlo Rajk and Janos Vargha, were also refused entry. Subsequently, several representatives of the organizations were not allowed to continue their trip near the town of Brno. Many of these persons were kept in police custody in Brno all night, without explanation.

During the demonstrations on Vencel Square on August 21, the following persons were handled brutally and arrested: Laszlo Akos Nemeth, Tamas Deutsch and Laszlo Pesthy, members of FIDESZ and Gyorgy Kerenyi, representative of the Workers' Solidarity.

The three organizations are protesting not only the unlawful acts against their delegates, but against the mounting aggression of the authorities. It is their conviction that the expression of their solidarity is not to be obstructed by the arbitrariness of the authorities.

FIDESZ Holds Protest Hunger Strike

LD2208150589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] The representatives of Fidesz [Federation of Democratic Youth] are holding a sit-in and a hunger strike outside the Czechoslovak Embassy in Budapest. They will maintain this until their comrades arrested in Prague are released. DEMISZ [Hungarian Democratic Youth Alliance], which generally does not agree with the views of FIDESZ, had condemned the violence and demanded that the detained Hungarian citizens be released.

Company Offers To Insure Detainees

LD2208155889 Budapest MTI in English 1416 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Prague, August 22 (MTI)—The offer has been made by Atlas Insurance Society of Budapest that if proceedings are taken against the Hungarians arrested at Monday's [21 August] demonstration in Prague, it is ready to provide legal protection. The information was given to the Hungarian Embassy in Prague on Tuesday, by the Budapest representative of Atlas.

It now seems certain that the nine Hungarian citizens arrested are members of opposition youth organizations and journalists. (Officials of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs are aware of seven arrests, but the whereabouts of two photo-journalists is still unknown, as reported earlier).

Two members of the Prague Office of Attorneys (No. 1) have already been requested by Atlas to take any necessary steps that might be required in defence of the Hungarians under arrest.

Romanian National Day Celebrated, Greetings Sent

Joint Friendship Circle Marks Occasion

LD2208172289 Budapest MTI in English 1635 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 22 (MTI)—The Hungarian people conveyed their friendly greetings to the people of Romania through Pecs Hungarian-Romanian Friendship Circle (SW Hungary) to mark the forthcoming national day celebrations in Romania.

A press briefing was held in Pecs on Tuesday, when the 300-word message was read out. The message will also be forwarded in Romanian to some Romanian organizations and editorial offices.

The message emphasizes that, "even after the lapse of 40 years, we evaluate the people's uprising of August 23, 1944, very highly: this put an end to the fascist regime in Romania. We record this historic deed with reverence,

and very much hope that each citizen of the Socialist Republic of Romania will live according to their heart's desire and find happiness in the future...'

The President of the circle, Dr Zoltan Igloi, a journalist, said that they intend to establish direct relations between Hungarians and Romanians in order to get to know each other better, thereby overcoming old prejudices, suspicions and impulses. Therefore, the communique goes on: 'We are proposing that our Romanian neighbours take the initiative in setting up Romanian-Hungarian friendship circles, similar to the Hungarian-Romanian friendship movement presently evolving in Hungary.'

Leaders Send Telegrams

LD2208190889 Budapest MTI in English
1730 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 22 (MTI)—To mark the National Day of Romania, Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the HSWP, F Bruno Straub, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, and Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, sent a joint telegram to Nicolae Ceaucescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Constantin Dascalescu, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Matyas Szuros, president of the National Assembly, and Gyula Horn, minister of foreign affairs, also sent telegrams to their Romanian counterparts.

Bekes Party Delegation Departs for City of Arad

LD2108201289 Budapest MTI in English
1228 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 21 (MTI)—At the invitation of the Arad County Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, a three-member delegation, consisting of representatives of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party/MSZMP] and council committee of Bekes County (SE Hungary) left for the Romanian city of Arad, (near the Hungarian border) on Monday. The delegation is headed by Jozsef Forrai, secretary of the Bekes County Committee of the HSWP. The delegation is to participate—as part of the twin county ties in effect between the two counties—in the festivities to mark the national day of Romania, on August 23.

Sopron Press Briefing on Border Violations Held

LD2208191189 Budapest MTI in English
1650 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest August 22 (MTI)—The situation which has come about in recent days owing to the border violations by large numbers of GDR citizens was the topic of a press briefing held on Tuesday at the Sopron district headquarters of the Ministry of Home Affairs' Border Guard.

Lieutenant-Colonel Janos Szalontai, deputy commander, said that from January to August, 1989, 1,050 people had attempted illegally to cross the border in the vicinity of Sopron. This is up 6-8 times on recent years.

In the month of August alone, however, 1,070 attempts have been made so far along this stretch of the border. The number caught in the act was 845. In recent weeks, the number of forceful violations has increased. It is only because of the self-possessed attitude of the Hungarian border patrols that no tragedies have occurred to date.

Mr Szalontai also emphasized that the border guards endeavour to carry out their duties in compliance with national interests and in a humane way. However, the mass border violations, the ransacking of cars left behind by GDR citizens, and the activity of 'people smugglers', all endanger legal order and public safety.

So far in August, nine Hungarian and 41 FRG 'people smugglers' have been caught.

Israeli Labor Party Leader Visits, Holds Talks

LD2108184789 Budapest MTI in English
1759 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 21 (MTI)—Israel Gat, head of the International Department of the Israel Labour Party, currently in Hungary at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP], met state minister Imre Pozsgay, member of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Presidium, on Monday.

It was noted with satisfaction that the visit had placed inter-party relations on an official basis. There was agreement that, notwithstanding differences over certain-issues, the continued development of inter-party cooperation was a common interest.

Mr Gat met Laszlo Kovacs, member of the HSWP Central Committee, under-secretary of state at the ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Imre Szokai, deputy head of the HSWP Central Committee Department for International Party Relations.

Mr Gat also met leaders of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, and visited the National Board of Hungarian Jews, where he was welcomed by President Andras Losonci.

Delegation Talks With MSZDP

LD2208164889 Budapest MTI in English
1349 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 22 (MTI)—Israel Gat, president of the International Department of the Israeli Workers' Party, has been holding discussions on the establishment

of inter-party ties with members of the National leadership of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party (MSZDP). Mr Gat is paying a visit in Hungary at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

Mr Gat also met with members of MSZDP's party committee and foreign affairs work committee, including representatives of the Social Democratic Movement, forming around MSZDP.

Besides the exchange of information, an agreement was reached between the sides for the expansion of relations in the spirit of the socialist international. Thus for example, the support of the Israeli Workers' Party is expected in the setting up of a "kibbutz" farm of Hungarian orphans, currently being organised by the youth work committee of MSZDP.

The MSZDP leadership also requested Mr Gat to pass the invitation extended to the leadership of his party to participate at the November congress of MSZDP.

People's Party Holds Session, Approves Manifesto
LD1908203489 Budapest MTI in English 1938 GMT 19 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 19 (MTI)—At its Szekszard session on Saturday, the great board of the Hungarian People's Party approved its manifesto and brought decisions on the electoral strategy of the party. According to its fundamental rules, the local organizations of the People's Party are totaly autonomous. They do not intend to set up party organizations at the working place.

Within the collective presidency, the post of executive president is held by Janos Marton. The number of members is estimated to be at 30,000, while that of local organizations at 100. The standpoint of the national leading body of the People's Party is that the elections should be held in this December if possible on account of the current precarious situation. They also call for the election of a president of the Republic as soon as possible. They have passed a decision that the People's Party should start preparing for the elections without delay.

Party leaders told journalists that at the parliamentary elections, the party did not intend to form a coalition with the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], but they would not exclude similar central parties from an alliance. The great board of the Hungarian People's Party passed a position on condemning Hungary's intervention of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Communist Party Hardliner Rejects Reforms
AU2208194389 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 21 Aug 89 pp 122-125

[Interview with "orthodox Communist Party member" Robert Ribanszky, head of the Ferenc-Muennich Society, by Siegfried Kogelfranz in Budapest: "Tanks Can Roll In Everywhere—at Any Time;" date not given]

[Text] DER SPIEGEL: Mr Ribanszky, you are tirelessly touring the country to condemn your reform comrades as enemies of socialism, you are founding one orthodox commnist association after the other—what do you want to achieve with this?

Ribanszky: Since communists are always reformers, we Hungarian communists started reforms 20 years ago. However, with the current so-called reformers we are having problems. They want to change the system.

DER SPIEGEL: Which you want to preserve at any cost.

Ribanszky: Yes. The determining force of society was and is for us the Communist Party, which calls itself MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] and with which we have achieved so much for our country—despite all errors and mistakes, which we certainly admit to. But our movement has historic goals, which we want to pursue consistently.

DER SPIEGEL: Certainly not all comrades want this—quite the contrary.

Ribanszky: True. In particular top comarades of the party are currently committing unforgivable mistakes. They tend to blow up past mistakes enormously and try to dissociate themselves from them and move towards the other side.

DER SPIEGEL: No wonder, 40 years of socialism have really not been a success for Hungary. And even in Moscow one takes leave of ideology. You are rather alone with your justification of the regime.

Ribanszky: I see this in a completely different way. I proceed from a realistic view of our country and all that is around us. A radical change of our system would lead to even worse mistakes, and finally to disaster. I also insist that socialism has brought us progress. We do not really live as badly as is always said these days.

DER SPIEGEL: For the price of a double or even triple burden on the workers, who have to exploit themselves in an inhuman way in order to survive. Is this socialism?

Ribanszky: In the end, this is one of the consequences of our reforms, and it is much more complicated than one thinks at first glance. We have not efficiently used our common property, therefore we have permitted private

initiatives, which are not only an incentive but also a burden. Therefore, we have to use our common property better, we must never give it up, it is not for sale!

DER SPIEGEL: Who would like to buy it, after all?

Ribanszky: Oh, there are enough people. Who is helping us out of altruism? We have to pay back every cent of the money we have received from you in the West over the years, with interest. This is a good deal, in particular for our capitalist friends.

DER SPIEGEL: You are just using empty dogmatic phrases, that are remote from today's reality. Forty years of communism have brought you to the place where you are today, with all the problems that are accumulating in Hungary.

Ribanszky: First, this was not yet communism, and we know that.

DER SPIEGEL: No? What else was it?

Ribanszky: It was not even socialism, only the beginning of a very long march into the future. It would be completely nonsensical to bury socialism because of this. You in the West should have a bit more sense of history. The Christian church has been trying to win the world for 2,000 years....

DER SPIEGEL: This of all....

Ribanszky: It has very good, very humane ideas. But what has it really achieved within these 2,000 years? Be a bit more tolerant and give us a bit more time! We do not think of giving up. And this is not dogmatic pigheadedness. Only history will decide where the real dogmatists are.

DER SPIEGEL: This can still take quite some time. At present you are considered a dogmatist, even a "cement head" and Stalinist by your compatriots, in particular by your own comrades.

Ribanszky: This is simply stupid. The people who are opposing me so much do not have any idea of reality. I would also advise them to be very careful with their aggressions towards the left. Today this may sound quite well, but....

DER SPIEGEL: Is this a threat?

Ribanszky: No, not at all. You see, during the past 2 or 3 decades we have already had a very humane regime in Hungary.

DER SPIEGEL: The small Goulash Archipelago.

Ribanszky: It has been humane and there is also no realistic and reasonable alternative to it.

DER SPIEGEL: Your compatriots will certainly not give you many more years. Perhaps not even 1 year, if next summer free elections really do take place in Hungary.

Ribanszky: This will not be as simple as that. The Christian church has experienced its periods of crises and has survived until today. The ideas and ideals of communism will not disappear from this world that easily either.

DER SPIEGEL: But the current manifestations of real socialism?

Ribanszky: In the case of all other big movements, ideas and practice have not always coincided: How noble is the U.S. Declaration of Independence, how glorious were the slogans of the French Revolution, what could have come out of them and what did come out of them? Nevertheless, these ideals have lost no more attractiveness to the people than has communism with its idea of more justice in society.

DER SPIEGEL: But there have been quite a lot of problems with its implementation.

Ribanszky: Look out of the window at the castle over there on the other side of the Danube. This castle is a symbol of power and its traditions, to which the people of our generation also succumb. Nevertheless, we have seriously tried to make society more just without depriving the individual of his opportunities—just think of the right to education.

I was ambassador to China for 7 years, after the terrible Cultural Revolution; we did not hide our abhorrence of its excesses. At that time the Chinese condemned me as a revisionist.

DER SPIEGEL: Ribanszky, the deviator from the right?

Ribanszky: Yes, and Janos Kadar, too!

DER SPIEGEL: The Chinese have experimented with reforms for almost 1 decade....

Ribanszky: ...following the Hungarian example!

DER SPIEGEL: Beijing ended the reforms with tanks, when too liberal ideas began to spread. Might China become an example for Hungary in this respect?

Ribanszky: Tanks—they can roll in everywhere in the world, in Ireland, in Lebanon, everywhere and at any time.

DER SPIEGEL: We would like a more concrete answer.

Ribanszky: The Chinese leadership was in an extraordinarily difficult situation. For months, its capital had been practically paralyzed. The stability of the entire country with its more than 1 billion people was at stake.

They had to do something, though I do not want to say that what they did was okay. They decided in favor of the ultimate solution, as terrible as it was.

DER SPIEGEL: An ultimate solution also in Hungary in the most extreme case?

Ribanszky: The situation is much too complicated for comparisons. We do not want to copy anything, nothing at all. A few days ago a U.S. correspondent told me that Minister Imre Pozsgay....

DER SPIEGEL: ...whom you like particularly....

Ribanszky: ...told him that Hungary wants to become like Austria. The American asked me whether this is possible. I said no. We are Hungary, not Austria, not Pakistan, not the Soviet Union. We should not copy anyone.

DER SPIEGEL: Not even the Soviet Union a bit more?

Ribanszky: No, not even the Soveit Union. It has totally different problems, even much more complicated ones. Think of the Russians' trouble with the Ukrainians, the inhabitants of the Baltic states, the Caucasians, and the Kazakhs. We have to follow our own path and we have long done so! After all, it was Kadar who opened the door and all windows. At that time, there was a big conflict in our country, with our neighbors, but also with the West. The enemy image was suddenly confused. After all, we were a country behind the Iron Curtain, and we should have behaved like one.

DER SPIEGEL: But the West saw Hungary's development in a very positive way.

Ribanszky: Only in part. Again: It was Kadar alone who made all this possible. Therefore, I do not have any sumpathetic feelings at all for those of my comrades who today are posing as the heroes of opening up. Janos Kadar wrote this chapter of history. He was the eagle who soared upwards. Those sparrows who are putting on such airs today should be content with continuing his reforms, not destroying them, as this is already being done elsewhere.

DER SPIEGEL: Where?

Ribanszky: What about Poland? There Solidarity is bearing the main responsibility for today's chaos. Even U.S. President Bush said this to Walesa. For 10 years this opposition has been paralyzing the society for the purpose of coming to power. I want to prevent Hungary from also following this path; therefore, my comrades are strictly against such strikes and such demonstrations—this is not what democarcy looks like for us.

DER SPIEGEL: Just say that you are also against free elections. As the by-elections this week showed, this also involves the question of power. And in this game the communists obviously do not have good cards.

Ribanzsky: If I were you I would not be so sure. This country has had a consensus for 3 decades....

DER SPIEGEL: The leadership had a consensus, the people were not asked.

Ribanszky: This is your view, my dear man. In any case, we had a consensus—also with Comrade Imre Pozsgay, with whom I have worked together closely and for a long time. I was the secretary, he was the general secretary of the Patriotic People's Front, at the order of our party. Since we had a Stalinist organization, he was a very powerful man, and he taught me that we have a national consensus in three basic issues: Socialism is indispensable for Hungary, the leading role of the Communist Party is indispensible, and Hungary's membership in the Warsaw Pact and in CEMA is also indispensable.

DER SPIEGEL: These were Imre Pozsgay's dogmas?

Ribanszky: And what happened to them? Some things have changed fundamentally. At that time the people made a mistake that was as big as it was blatant: They threw all this overboard in their usual Stalinist manner—without asking the party. They deceived the party. This was not only unforgivable, it was stupid. Because we will force them to take a position. We did not lead the country into a crises, if it is in a crisis—they themselves did this.

DER SPIEGEL: Who else says so, apart from you?

Ribanszky: The majority of the members of this party.

DER SPIEGEL: You might be grossly mistaken here.

Ribanszky: I am absolutely sure. The people are deceived by television and by the other mass media. Imre Pozsgay commands them. I told my former friend Karoly Grosz, the general secretary: You have let them become powerful, and now you cannot take away the television service from a state minister and give him another toy. Do you not see the anger at the grassroots?

DER SPIEGEL: Thus the reformers are the Stalinists, while you are representing the suppressed minority?

Ribanszky: According to its statute, the MSZMP is a communist party and will remain so. If the people want another party, it is their private business. Then they have to go.

DER SPIEGEL: But they want you to go.

Ribanszky: We will stay. We rely on the party statute, which is still valid, after all. Presidium Chairman Nyers has just stated publicly that the party can count on 30 percent of the votes at elections. Who gives him the right to voice such stupidities? Where does he get this information from?

DER SPIEGEL: With this guess he was still above the result of the by-elections, at which the Communists did not reach more than 22 percent.

Ribanszky: These were a few towns, and, in addition, strongholds of the so-called reformers; did you not notice this? In the Central Committee the majority is against Pozsgay. But his people are playing tactical games like crazy and therefore the entire party is suffering, as it is suffering under the constant digging up of the past. The overwhelming majority of the party members loathe all this. The masochistic digging up of these so-called crimes only pleases our enemies, who are now shedding crocodile tears about Imre Nagy.

DER SPIEGEL: What do you think about Nagy?

Ribanszky: For me he was a communist who turned traitor. In 1956 he stood at the side of the counterrevolution. The entire matter was a nightmare for us, which we will not forget as long as we live, a terrible tragedy, in which brothers shot at brothers.

DER SPIEGEL: Today Hungary considers this a popular uprising.

Ribanszky: Yes, with the hero Imre Nagy, whom many previously saw as an agent of Beriya, who helped to hand Hungary over to communism. Now the enemies of communism are rallying around him; is this not strange?

DER SPIEGEL: Mr Ribanszky, do you not have any contact with the people at all, who think completely differently about these things?

Ribanszky: Be careful, my friend. The people do not know whom they should trust any more. Imre Pozsgay, who has been gaining prominence as a great reformer for 2 years, once said that until a few years ago the intelligentsia was subjected to a "Tartarian persecution." If this was the case he himself was the Tartarian chief Batu Khan, because he had been culture minister for 6 years.

DER SPIEGEL: But today Poszgay admits that in the past there was no democracy.

Ribanszky: He himself is coresponsible for this. In the past he always loudly praised the advantages of the one-party system, until he discovered the miracle of the multiparty system—and now we have it, without any legal basis. What kind of mummies have been resurrected here, small landowners and large landowners, social democrats....

DER SPIEGEL: However, it has been shown that the citizens give them their votes. How do you want to prevent them from coming to the helm?

Ribanszky: The MSZMP has temporarily lost its reputation, because of so-called self-criticism, with which our leaders have committed harikiri. But you will see that the party will again gain ground!

DER SPIGEL: The people do no longer trust the communists, they do not trust the reforms, but, in particular, they do not trust those who defend the system, like you do.

Ribanszky: You might be terribly wrong! Kadar's funeral showed a completely different picture; strangely enough, this was obviously to the displeasure of the party leaders: They said that thousands or tens of thousands had come to the funeral. But there were hundreds of thousands of people.

DER SPIEGEL: Not quite so many as at Nagy's funeral.

Ribanszky: More! And the people started to think. These days I can also feel a change in the mass media. Two weeks ago we sent an open letter to the Central Committee, explaining our view about the holiday they are planning in October in commemoration of 1956. No reaction. But yesterday NEPSZABADSAG, the party organ, suddenly printed our letter—2 weeks later, without any explaination. Something has happened.

DER SPIEGEL: What?

Ribanszky: I do not know. But something is going on.

DER SPIEGEL: In the MSZMP, in Hungary, in the entire socialist camp, as far as this still exists?

Ribanszky: In the Central Committee, in the country, also in the international movement.

DER SPIEGEL: Also in Moscow? PRAVDA recently harshly criticized the MSZMP.

Ribanszky: Not only PRAVDA, I tell you.

DER SPIEGEL: Thus, there is an "internationalist" setback for all too bold reforms?

Ribanszky: Yes, that is certainly possible.

DER SPIEGEL: Is there any encouragement for you from the outside?

Ribanszky: No, only a feeling that the pace of this so-called reform movement is slowing down, inside and outside. Everything was just too hot. There were too great risks. This urgently demanded cooling down.

DER SPIEGEL: Will Hungary still be a socialist country after the elections next summer?

Ribanszky: Some particularly clever people wanted new elections as early as this November, because then the opposition would not have been prepared. But this will probably not happen. I personally am sure that next year, too, there will be a socialist Hungary. It would be much too dangerous to change this.

DER SPIEGEL: Mr Ribanszky, thank you very much for this interview.

Nyers Lectures at MSZMP Open Tata University

LD2108223189 Budapest MTI in English 2112 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 21 (MTI)—As reported, the open university of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party opened in Tata on Monday evening.

In his opening lecture, HSWP President Rezso Nyers said that the current task of the HSWP is to make the greatest possible proportion of the electorate realize the need for correctly assessing the social movements and parties and having a knowledge of the criteria set for the elections.

Analysing the outcome of the party conference in May, 1988, Mr Nyers pointed out that it had brought about a social turn in the country, manifest in the changing system of political institutions and the expanding new phase of the economic reform process. He stated that it was not a political programme which gave rise to the social turn, the process became deeper than expected by the party leadership: It was not only aimed at easing the tension of the 1980s, but had led Hungarian policy onto the course of a historic change.

The HSWP's former Central Committee realized the necessity of reforming the political system, and adopted the guiding principle of social pluralization. However, it was then already obvious that this process could not be kept within the limits of a one-party system and stop at the point of pluralism based on differences between the various currents. After the party conference, the contradictions which had accumulated in the course of historic development also surfaced in the party movement and society. The problems which made it necessary to go beyond the resolutions of the party conference also included the judgement of past events.

Mr Nyers said that, on the basis of the lessons learnt from Hungarian socialism, the HSWP has to turn into a socialist party which considers everyday reality but still wants to alter society in the long run.

Party Must Get Rid of 'Tin Gods'

LD2208024789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Excerpts] An open university has been organized for Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] officials in Tata where, they admitted, they are trying to prepare party cadres to win the election. At the summer university, the party chairman has also delivered a speech. Laszlo Gardai reports:

[Gardai] [passage omitted] Debate followed the lecture. In reply to a question, Rezso Nyers said that whatever new name the party will have, he would like the word socialist to be in it. [passage omitted]

The party's chances in the elections are reduced to a minimum if it does not get rid of the little tin gods grown up in the apparatus, said the next questioner. This process has started, but there are still reserves, Nyers said with certain malice. But, he confirmed, we are talking about calling to account and not revenge.

Social Democrats To Run Electoral Candidate

LD2108183989 Budapest MTI in English 1728 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 21 (MTI)—For the first time in 42 years, the Social Democratic Party of Hungary (MSZDP) is to put up a candidate for the parliamentary elections.

Dr Istvan Schein, 36, a legal counsellor, will represent the party at the by-election in Zala county's 2nd parliamentary ward on September 16.

Speaking to journalists in Budapest on Monday, Dr Schein said the party's decision to nominate its own candidate for the elections was preceded by lengthy internal debates.

Dr Schein's opponents will be journalist Istvan Gyorffy (joint candidate of the Zala County Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Zala County HSWP Reform Circles, the Patriotic People's Front and the Zalagerszeg Youth Association), and physician Gyula Marx, (representing the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Alliance of Free Democrats and the Federation of Young Democrats

The MSZDP finally decided to enter a candidate for the elections in order to gain experience at organizing an election campaign and to work out the Social Democrats' election manifesto.

The Hungarian People's Party also supports the MSZDP candidate.

Trade Ministry Rejects Special Economic Zones

AU2208110589 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 22 Aug 89 p 13

[APA report: "Hungary Opposed to Setting Up Special Economic Zones"]

[Text] Budapest/Vienna—Hungary does not plan to set up special economic zones. An expert of the Hungarian Trade Ministry told the economic weekly FIGYELO that the Budapest Trade Ministry has rejected plans to found a free trade zone near Sopron (Oedenburg), where the schilling or DM currency and the EC commercial law would be valid

He said that it was undesirable to develop a "sort of mini state" in Hungary. In addition, Hungary should attract foreign capital throughout the entire country, and not just in part of it.

He said that Hungary had always had "duty free zones" which served to reload or store imported goods. The products that go to the country from these "zones" are cleared as normal imports. If they are re-exported the products are treated as if they had never been in Hungary.

However, the expert said, in special economic zones, any type of economic activity was permitted. The "mother country's" legal norms, such as the tax law, are not applicable, and employees are paid in foreign currency.

The Budapest Trade Ministry believes that it might consider founding industrial zones that would be exempt from customs. The Hungarian government will ask UN and United Nations International Development Organization experts to prepare studies on the opportunities for customs-free industrial zones for Sopron and Budapest.

Meat Companies Raise Prices, More Hikes To Come

LD2108142989 Budapest MTI in English 1239 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Excerpt] Budapest, August 21, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Despite nationwide warning strikes at the end of last week, 19 Hungarian meat processing companies have today increased prices of various meat products by an average 6.5 percent, with more to come. A second similar rise—around 6 percent—is due for September 4.

Officials of the national press office have stressed that the rise does not represent more than a one to two tenths of a percent increase in the consumer price level and continue in the by now probably vain hope of limiting this year's consumer price increases to 15 percent.

According to preliminary estimates, of 2 million people expected to take part in the 30 minute protest stoppage organized by the official trade unions at the end of last week, only a little over 1 million, mainly the steelworkers, actually did so. Food industry workers and meat producers kept working, following the newly established independent trade unions' decision not to support the national council of trade unions' call to down tools. [passage omitted]

TU Leader Warns of More Strikes

LD2108200689 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The duel between the government and the trade unions over meat prices is continuing. The premier's ominous remarks have hit hard at those to whom they were addressed, causing offense. [passage omitted]

In light of this, our reporter has interviewed [Sandor Nagy] the general secretary of the National Council for Trade Unions:

[Begin recording] [Reporter] It is very rough on you at the moment.

[Nagy] It is not rough on the trade unions but it is rough on the Hungarian workers. And naturally, I am not surprised by the fact that in Hungary, those living on wages and salaries are dissatisfied with the trade unions. But I think that Premier Miklos Nemeth has drawn the long bow. This trade union movement does not want to preserve its interests regarding the apparatus and it does not want to save the earlier Stalinist retrograde methods in some sort of new reform set-up, but it does wish to represent the interests of its membership. The premier took the tone that he, personally and his generation—and it is coincidental that I also belong to this generation—does not want to creep by the wall with downcast eyes and to carry the mistakes and sins of others. Well, I can say the same.

[Reporter] Well, you are saying that the people are justifiably dissatisfied. What is the trade union going to do?

[Nagy] It will negotiate in the interest of those living on wages and salaries, and those on low incomes and all the pensioners, and those on social benefits. I cannot exclude the possibility of further strikes if there is such a great lack of understanding and let me add, if there is such great cynicism and arrogance on the part of certain circles regarding the reaction of more than 1 million people. [end recording]

Jozef Czyrek Appointed Minister of State

LD2208143989 Warsaw PAP in English
1424 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 22—The president of the Polish People's Republic appointed Jozef Czyrek to the post of minister of state.

Under the Constitution, the president appoints ministers of state who are empowered to act on his behalf. The president defines the scope of these powers.

Walesa Cited on Need for Western Economic Aid

LD2208185689 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish
1600 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] And so to Poland, where the leader of Solidarity, Lech Walesa, appeals for economic aid from the West. Our reporter, Tore Lundgren, met with Walesa in Gdansk today:

[Lundgren] The West is behaving like a maiden—she wants to , but is afraid. Lech Walesa said this; this is how the leader of Solidarity sees the West's clumsy attempts, as he puts it, to aid Poland. How long are you going to sleep before you understand that the situation in Poland is acute. What we want mainly is cooperation. Take over Polish companies and invest through that channel. Open banks here because there is currently in this country from $3 billion to $5 billion in private hands, money which just lies unused because there is a fear that the money will go to the Communist Party.

Walesa is today very disappointed that the West, in his opinion, does not match up to the new situation where Poland is. When I met him at the headquarters here in Gdansk today, he returned time after time to the fact, that it is not just a matter of loans—he wants cooperation, foreign investments in Poland. We must be granted a longer time to pay back the debts which now are about $50 billion. If we have time and peace we will create a new economic system and release the market forces. If we do not to that it can cause consequences not only [words indistinct] but for the whole of Europe.

The U.S. President George Bush was recently in Poland and visited Walesa at his home here in Gdansk. I asked Walesa if there are plans for contacts with leaders in Moscow. You mean Gorbachev, Walesa said. Not yet, in any case, he has enough of his own problems.

PZPR Spokesman Bisztyga on Politburo Talks

Rakowski-Gorbachev Talks

LD2208192789 Warsaw PAP in English
1751 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 22—PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] spokesman Jan Bisztyga told a press conference here that PUWP CC First Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski talked on the phone with CPSU CC General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev today. Gorbachev expressed confidence that the Polish party would successfully solve the social and economic problems in the interest of socialism and voiced the conviction that solving these problems is impossible without the PUWP.

Politburo Backs Coalition

LD2208180889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] [Presenter] A moment ago we received the news that the press spokesman for the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Commi ee, Jan Bisztyga, has had a meeting with foreign and Polish journalists at the INTERPRESS AGENCY Press Center.

About 30 minutes ago, he informed them that the Politburo has ended its deliberations. The subject of debate was the issue of the formation of a new government. This government can only be a government of grand coalition. The supreme issue is the national interest [word indistinct]. The PZPR will use all its strength for the new government, with the proper PZPR representation, reflecting [words indistinct], to oppose effectively the rising economic and social tensions.

Text of News Conference

LD2208193889 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1730 GMT 22 Aug 89

[News conference by PZPR press spokesman Jan Bisztyga with unidentified correspondents at the INTERPRESS Agency Press Center in Warsaw 22 August—recorded]

[Text] Directly following the conclusion of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo meeting Jan Bisztyga, the party's press spokesman, met correspondents at INTERPRESS. What was the main subject of today's meeting?

[Bisztyga] The Politburo examined the sociopolitical situation in Poland in great detail within the context of the formation of a new government.

[Correspondent] Was a stance adopted?

[Bisztyga] The opinion was expressed that the PZPR will support a government that embodies the characteristics of a grand coalition. That is confirmation of our consistent attitude that all Poland's difficult problems today can be solved only through the joint action of all forces in Poland, which enables the problems of a complicated character facing the Poles to be solved jointly.

[Correspondent] Do you agree with me that today's conference was called quite suddenly, and hence the speculation that there still were some other important aspects of the Politburo meeting? [Bisztyga] A prolonged conversation was held. [Correspondent] What does prolonged mean? [Bisztyga] That means for more than 40

minutes, between the PZPR and CPSU leaders, Mieczyslaw Rakowski and Mikhail Gorbachev. [sentence as heard] It was a talk between two politicians who understood the contemporary problems taking place in the world, demonstrating the full accord of reformers for the phenomena taking place in Poland and the Soviet Union. Comrade Gorbachev expressed the opinion that the processes taking place in Poland would serve the Polish nation and strengthen socialism in our country.

[Correspondent] Thank you.

More on Politburo Debate

LD2208213489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2005 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Report on news conference held by Jan Bisztyga, Polish United Workers Party press spokesman, at the INTERPRESS AGENCY Press Center on 22 August]

[Text] Here is a report on the meeting between Jan Bisztyga, press spokesman of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee, and national and foreign journalists. The Politburo debate concerned issues connected with the formation of a new government; here is the Politburo's position as presented by its spokesman.

[Begin Bisztyga recording] The proposal for broad coalition is in accordance with the proposals, often repeated by the PZPR, concerning the formation of an effective government, which can only be the government of great coalition. The party has always considered the national interest as the supreme issue; hence it will use all its forces so that the new government, with the appropriate PZPR representation in accordance with its place in the life of the country and the state, can successfuly act against growing economic and social tensions. [end recording]

Next Jan Bisztyga referred to Saturday's party Central Committee plenum.

[Begin Bisztyga recording] It is not true that there were controversies and contradictions at the plenum; there was agreement concerning the idea proposed by the first secretary for PZPR participation in the government. It is a positive idea in step with present day realities and the party's constructive reformist views.

I would like to add to that we are hearing accusations here and there that the attitude adopted by 14th plenum reflects a stiffening of the party's policy. Can you imagine a political movement which does not maintain its identity? We demonstrated just such a strengthening of the party's identity at the 14th plenum.

In connection with the statement by Lech Walesa, the chairman of the Independent Self-government Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity, I would like to inform you that at the Politburo meeting it was stated that it is the Politburo's wish that the position adopted by the Central Committee at its 14th plenum be understood just as it reads.

I would like to cite one of the paragraphs which characterizes the views of party members and leaders, which has an unusually important meaning as far as the formation of political culture in today's alignment of various forces is concerned. I quote: The partnerlike joint action of these two forces—I am thinking here of the PZPR and Solidarity—devoid of mutual prejudices, might create a qualitatively new stage in Polish history. That is an explicit proposition to Solidarity. [end recording]

(?Next) he announced two important pieces of news.

[Begin Bisztyga recording] I would like to inform you that the first contacts were held today between Mr Kapinski, senator Mazowiecki's [title as heard] representative, and Leszek Miller, a Central Committee secretary authorized to hold talks with him on the subject of the composition of the government.

These were preliminary talks. No precise personnel decisions were made.

I'd like to report that today PZPR First Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski had a very long conversation exceeding 40 minutes, a telephone conversation with the CPSU Central Committee general secretary, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev. Information was exchanged on the political and economic situation in Poland and the Soviet Union. It was a friendly conversation, reflecting the state of unity of reform thinking of both parties' leaders. The CPSU Central Committee general secretary expressed confidence that the Polish party would successfuly resolve the existing social, political, and economic problems, in the interests of the Polish people and socialism. The belief was expressed that without the PZPR's participation it is not possible to solve Poland's problems. [end recording]

[Presenter] Questions and answers followed. A journalist [newspaper indistinct] asked, in the Politburo's opinion, how many party ministers there should be in the new government?

[Bisztyga] [begin recording] We proceed from the assumption that the number of PZPR members in the new government should correspond to the influence the party has in society and their [as heard] influence on shaping contemporary economic, political, and social problems in our country. Ladies and gentlemen, you realize that a reflection of this fact must emerge from negotiations and talks: Negotiations and talks were begun today and it seems to me that they will last for some time and I hope they will be fruitful. [end recording]

[Presenter] Kay Withers of THE BALTIMORE SUN asked who first called whom, Rakowski or Gorbachev?

[Bisztyga] [begin recording] I am unable to answer this, I simply do not know. I would like to put it straight that the telephone call to Rakowski was from the general secretary of the Soviet Union, and it seems to me that the conversation was as I described previously. [end recording]

[Presenter] Journalists again and again returned to the sharing of ministerial portofolios:

[Bisztyga] [begin recording] The party is interested in the coparticipation in the government in direct proportion to its influence and importance in the country. Practical translation of the formula into ministerial portfolios is impossible under present conditions when the negotiation process has only begun, or if I can call it the process of talks on to what degree the arrangement of the PZPR's forces can be reflected by granting the PZPR appropriate portfolios. [end recording]

Further on News Conference

LD2308092289 Warsaw PAP in English 0038 GMT 23 Aug 89

[By Waldemar Janiec and Wieslawa Mazarska]

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 22—Spokesman for the PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] Jan Bisztyga met with newsmen today. He stated that on the same day the Political Bureau discussed the formation of a new government and took a stand on it.

A proposal to form a broad coalition corresponds to a proposal, made by the PUWP many times. To set up an effective government which can only be a government of grand coalition. The party regarded and continues to regard the national interest as the supreme cause. Thus, it will spare no efforts so that the new government with an adequate representation of the PUWP, reflecting its place in the life of the country and in the state, could efficiently counteract aggravating economic and social tensions, Bisztyga stated.

Next he informed newsmen on the Political Bureau's decision to adopt a statement on the 1939 Ribbentrop-Molotov pact and presented its content.

Also, Bisztyga dismissed rumours on the alleged stormy character of the 14th plenum of the PUWP CC. Views were concordant on a concept of the PUWP participation in the government, presented by the first secretary. He also rejected charges to the effect that the 14th plenary session's resolution meant a more rigid stand of the party and pointed out that one cannot interpret in this way the party's will "to preserve its own identity," manifested at the plenum.

Bisztyga took a stand on Lech Walesa's recent statement in this respect and said that at the session of the Political Bureau it had been stated that the body would like to stand adopted by the CC at the 14th session to be interpreted in tune with its true meaning.

After quoting the resolution's relevant excerpts Bisztyga emphasized that these were not threats addressed to anybody at all. As for an appeal to the PUWP to join in the reforms process, issued by the chairman of the Independent Self-Government Trade Union Solidarity, Bisztyga limited himself to recalling that it was no less a body than the PUWP that initiated deep reforms and the round table.

Asked about PUWP hopes pinned on the new government, the spokesman replied that the participation of the party in it must reflect its real influence on society and the role it plays in this country's political life.

At the same time he briefed journalists on the first meeting between Senator Jaroslaw Kaczynski, representative of Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, and PUWP CC Secretary Leszek Miller on the composition of the government. "These were initial talks, no personnel decisions were made," Bisztyga said.

Next he took a stand on discussions within the party on the decision made by the United Peasants' Party and the Democratic Party. We do not hide that there are various views on this issue in the party. We are of the opinion that these reactions are natural, he added.

Bisztyga informed the conference on a meeting between Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski and chairman of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) Alfred Miodowicz. The latter presented his organization's stance on the situation in this country. He also said that according to what he knew, the number of OPZZ members did not drop and continued to exceed seven million.

Mazowiecki, Kiszczak Discuss Forming Government

LD2208142389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Excerpt] Premier-designate Tadeusz Mazowiecki has had a meeting with the outgoing premier, Czeslaw Kiszczak. Their long private talks were devoted to actions connected with the task of forming a new government. The two politicians also exchanged views on ways of overcoming the current political, social and economic problems and taking up tasks resulting from the sociological challenges faced by Poland.

Paper Interviews Mazowiecki

LD2108172189 Warsaw PAP in English 1630 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 21—Tadeusz Mazowiecki designated to the post of prime minister by Polish president told the opposition daily GAZETA WYBORCZA that he was totally surprised by the proposal.

We are running into a situation where not one but various political forces can form the government. This is transition to normalcy: One day you are in the cabinet, another day

in the opposition. Lech Walesa's broad formula of government is needed to help this country, a government open to all forces represented in the parliament.

Asked about the first decisions he is going to undertake as prime minister, Mazowiecki replied: "Preparation of a document for the International Monetary Fund which is to take decisions in autumn. But first the work connected with the formation of a government," he said.

Mazowiecki, SD Chairman Janowski Hold Talks

LD2208142189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] A meeting between Premier-Designate Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Prof Jan Janowski, chairman of the Democratic Party [SD] Parliamentary Floor Group, ended around mid-day. The subject of their talks were issues connected with the creation of a new government and the situation in the country. Further talks are still expected today. Premier Mazowiecki will probably meet Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz and Senate Speaker Andrzej Stelmachowski.

DP Spokesman Views Talks

LD2208194689 Warsaw PAP in English 1747 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 22—Tadeusz Mazowiecki today met chairman of the Democratic Party (DP) Sejm floor group professor Jan Janowski and the latter said the following after the meeting, excerpts:

"We agreed with Mr. Mazowiecki that, under the round table decisions, Poland's all main political forces should be represented in a government formed by the new coalition. In this context, one should welcome with satisfaction a stand on this question adopted by PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] leading bodies.

"We deemed the principle of avoiding a decisive domination of any of the forces taking part in the government right. I think that the DP should be represented by a vice-premier and heads of three or four ministries in a new cabinet.

"During the talks with me, Tadeusz Mazowiecki outlined the main items of a programme that would be pursued by his government. I say with satisfaction that these proposals fully conform with postulates of the DP programme adopted by the 14th congress of our party."

SD Statement on Government, PZPR Stance

LD2208155489 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] The Democratic Party (SD) Central Committee issued a note concerning the situation in the country and the formation of a new government. We also have received a statement from the SD Central Committee press spokesman which says, among other things:

The government based on a new coalition, we stress once again, will be open to all proreform forces, including the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. The press spokesman regrets some formulations contained in the PZPR's August stance concerning the SD, particularly as it applies to accusations of opportunism; of breaking agreements; of entering the road of confrontation with the PZPR, and of a lack of responsibility for the fate of the country.

These were excerpts from the statement made by the spokesman of the SD Central Committee.

Democratic Party Outlines Stand

LD2208164189 Warsaw PAP in English 1542 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 22—The Democratic Party [DP] Presidium members today analysed the situation in Poland in the context of decisions taken by the "Solidarity," the DP, and the UPP [United Peasants Party] concerning the formation of a government of national responsibility.

They gave firm support to the candidature of Tadeusy Mazowiecki for the post of prime minister in that government but criticised the declaration of PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] 14th plenary meeting which charged the DP and UPP with opportunism and breaking up the coalition. They said that the fates of the hitherto coalition were determined chiefly by the PUWP's longtime negligence of the really partner-like links among the coalition parties.

The tone of the PUWP CC 14th plenum's statement referring to the DP and UPP is a new sign of persisting old style in thinking and work. DP CC Presidium members were particularly critical about the unprecedented fact of PUWP CC addressing the DP (and UPP) members over the heads of their democratically elected authorities. This is a glaring example of instrumental approach to the Democratic Party.

In a statement released to PAP the Democratic Party CC spokesman deplored some formulations contained in the PUWP CC statement of August 19, 1989, and referring to the DP, particularly the charges of opportunism, breaking agreements, and stepping on the road of confrontation with the PUWP, irresponsibility for the future of this country.

The DP Central Committee at its 3rd plenary meeting on June 30, this year, said clearly that the hitherto binding declaration of cooperation among the PUWP, the UPP, and the DP, signed in December, 1980, was no longer valid and it authorized the DP leadership to negotiate with all participants in the round table conference bearing in mind any political manoeuvers. The plenum's declaration was published by mass media and is known to everybody.

The coalition contracted with the PUWP failed to be extended without the DP's fault and our programmatic documents do not speak of unconditional and everlasting cooperation with any of the political forces.

The DP CC spokesman recalls that it was not the desire to take advantage of the present moment but true responsibility for taking advantage of one of the last chances for a conflictless way out of the economic and social decline and a major political crisis that guided the DP authorities which, after comprehensive talks, considering the opinion of DP organisations and ranks as well as the DP parliamentary club—decided to adopt the proposal of Lech Walesa of August 7.

Vice Premier Sekula on Government Challenge

LD2308003489 Warsaw PAP in English 2318 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 22—in a talk with TV journalist tonight Vice-Premier Ireneusz Sekula said that the process of handing over power was taking place in a normal way, on the parliamentary road, according to the rules of democracy and not, as it used to happen in the past, amid dramatic circumstances.

Asked whether there were more failures or more successes, Sekula said that in his opinion there were more successes although he would not count them by the piece. Successes were more important, he added and said that among them was the fact the government of which he was a member initiated irreversible processes that changed Poland and will continue to change it. It is not possible any more to restrain the initiative of citizens and economic subjects. There is no return to monopolies.

The government gave up many administrative functions that are today being regulated by the rules of the market. Suffice it to mention the food economy which is a difficult sphere. The introduction of the rules of the market to this sphere meant considerable price hikes. But protests are not against those high prices for they are not fixed by the authorities any more. They came as a result of calculation. They are fixed by producers, businessmen, Sekula pointed out. The dispute has shifted to the sphere of incomes. And that is very good, Sekula said. This is proof that this country has become a normal one. Trade unions should see to adequately high incomes of employees. And let them argue with employers. Let the government stop being a side in these disputes, Sekula said.

Referring to relations with abroad, Sekula said that they were established according to qualitatively new rules, mainly those with the West, but not at the cost of relations with socialist countries. On the contrary, relations with the latter ones have developed favourably. We even managed to settle a few disputes within the "family", suffice it to mention the one over the Pomeranian bay, Sekula said.

We have also broken a taboo—we established a political dialogue with Israel, South Korea, we started economic cooperation with the Republic of South Africa, Taiwan, Chile—something unthinkable not so long ago. But if it does not violate the Polish reason of state and is favourable for Poland then any doctrinal reasons should not hamper this cooperation.

Once an isolated country, a country being subjected to restrictions, Poland has become a member of the world family. There are good prospects concerning talks with the International] Monetary Fund and the World Bank, with the Paris and London Clubs who are our creditors.

There is a chance that there wil be more favourable conditions for Polands repaying its debts, that there will be new credits and above all the investments of foreign capital.

Asked what he expected to happen next, Sekula said that a new government will enjoy a short honeymoon. It will undoubtedly enjoy greater social confidence thus it will have greater chances. But there is no departure from problems. Governments change, problems remain. It will be necessary to square a few circles. How to limit the budget deficit and at the same time to ensure pay rises in the budget sphere. How to limit subsidies and at the same time to prevent considerable price hikes. How to prevent strikes that affect the economy. How to break the myths that have been exaggerated for years. The myth of a bad government which has everything for one.

Solidarity's Geremek Interviewed on Reforms

LD2108153189 Paris Domestic Service in French 0620 GMT 21 Aug 89

[From the "Let's Speak Clearly" program, presented by Pierre Le Marc with studio guest Bronislaw Geremek]

[Excerpts] [Le Marc] Bronislaw Geremek will no doubt not be part of the future Polish Government led by Solidarity, but he has a key role along with Walesa in forming this team, in preparing the future reforms, and in drawing up Solidarity's strategy. He is with us this morning. Good day Bronislaw Geremek.

[Geremek] Good day.

[Le Marc] If the process reaches its conclusion this week, Poland will be led by a government in which Solidarity is the moving force. Nine years ago, at the birth of your movement in Gdansk, did you expect such a development?

[Geremek] I can tell you that we did. We began all that thinking that one day the aspirations of Polish society could be achieved, but how could one predict it? [passage omitted] Now the moment has arrived and I can tell you, and I am certainly not exaggerating, that it is a historic turning-point, and it is a historic turning-point for Poland and for the whole of this part of Europe.

[Le Marc] One has a desire to ask you, why the choice of Tadeuz Mazowiecki for the post of prime minister, why not Walesa, why not yourself? Would you have been turned down by the Polish Communist Party?

[Geremek] There is no problem of personal choice, if you will. First of all there is a choice which concerns a policy, a philosophy of action. For us it was a matter of not accepting that the government, or rather the new government, be formed by the Communists because that would mean that we were going to continue—after the elections, after our victory in the elections—that we were going to continue with the old system of nomenclature. What we have achieved is not a government of coalition as had been offered to us for months if not years, but it is a government which we are going to form ourselves, leaving behind the principle of nomenclature. We are going to accept the representatives of other parties, including the Communist Party.

[Le Marc] In what posts?

[Geremek] We shall see about that. It is something to be discussed and Tadeusz Mazowiecki will have to look at the matter closely. And I can tell you that we will be doing this together.

[Le Marc] But doesn't the Communist Party have specific demands, regarding the defense and the interior, for example?

[Geremek] Of course. They are in the habit of considering, you have mentioned two, you have named two ministries—defense and the interior—that goes without saying, and I would add foreign affairs and television because those are the pillars of power, but I believe that the problem is to see that there is a real society, there is a real country, and in this real country there is always force, military force, and the force of the police and the force of propaganda. All these three structures are in the hands of the Communist Party. I think that the most important thing now for us and for Poland is to obtain a government capable of achieving economic reform, and in order to do this we need objective news. We cannot accept a monopoly on the news, so I will tell you—they have the army now, they have the police now and they will have it—they cannot have the news...

[Le Marc] You refuse them?

[Geremek] For a democratic country and a democratic society it is an essential matter, and we know that economic reform cannot be achieved without this process of democratization and direct contact between the government, between Solidarity and Polish society.

[Le Marc] Bronislaw Geremek, will the government which is going to be formed really be obeyed by the adminstration? Is there not a risk of its action being sabotaged?

[Geremek] Once can expect all kinds of sabotage. I believe, furthermore, that this sabotage is found just as much in the case of Gorbachev in the Soviet Union, and it is sometimes intentional sabotage and sometimes caused by intertia.

[French historian] Fernan Braudel often said that intertia is a huge force in history. In a communist country, inertia is the principal force, so one can say that there is inertia of the economic apparatus, inertia of the political apparatus, and there will also be sabotage by those who do not accept that Solidarity can be a force in public life and that Solidarity can be the force which now forms the government. I am certain that we will be able to cope with this situation.

[Le Marc] Do you not fear a division in Solidarity in the long term over government priorities? The interests of the farmers and the workers are different in fact. Will the Solidarity grassroots have the patience to wait for the improvements, which after all may be a long time in arriving?

[Geremek] [passage omitted] I know that we will have to face up to internal conflicts between the farmers and the workers, the town and the countryside, the army and the police, which are run by the Communist Party, and the democratic aspirations of Polish society. [words indistinct]

[Le Marc] How do you explain the moderate attitude of the USSR?

[Geremek] I believe that the USSR still has the military means necessary to intervene as it did in 1968, but that it does not have any desire to do so now, because it would be the end of Gorbachev's policy, and probably of Gorbachev himself. He cannot take such a decision without destroying his own philosophy and its political existence. It is said that the Brezhnev doctrine is dead. In a way this is true, but at the same time I think that one has to see, and one has to know that it is only the guidelines of application which have changed, but the doctrine itself exists, and this thus requires of us realistic thinking and political imagination to guess—because we cannot do otherwise—where the red line is and never cross over it. I believe that at a certain moment last week when in our publicity the watchword appeared—we are going to form a government without Communists—this red line has already been reached, and I hope that now the Soviet Union is going to continue to observe the evolution of the Polish situation and to see that the risk of destabilization is much greater if we do not form our government in Poland, if we do not form a government with Solidarity [words indistinct], than with this government which is new in this part of Europe, formed by the opposition, a government which for the first time since 1945 has not been formed by the Communist Party.

[Le Marc] Thank you, Bronislaw Geremek.

UPP Group Discusses Functioning of Coalition

LD2208223789 Warsaw PAP in English
2131 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Wawrsaw, Aug. 22—At its Tuesday meeting the United Peasants' Party [UPP] parliamentary floor group discussed the functioning of the new coalition of the UPP, the DP [Democratic Party] and Solidarity and the prospects of Tadeusz Mazowiecki forming a new cabinet.

Head of the group Aleksander Bentkowski said that the UPP was entering the negotiations in the conviction that the party should receive at least one office of vice-premier and four or five ministerial posts. He added he thought about ministries of agriculture, environmental protection, foreign affairs, justice and national education/or health, and the central planning office.

UPP officials said that the coming meeting of Tadeusz Mazowiecki and members of the UPP and DP parliamentary floor groups on Wednesday would discuss the UPP's representation in the new coalition.

Bentowski also stated that in the new coalition's view the Foreign Ministry should be headed by this coalition's representative.

There were questions whether members of the UPP leadership, including Roman Malinowski and Bogdan Krolewski, intended to try for governmental posts. In response Krolewski said he was not going to try for a post in the new cabinet.

Much attention was paid to the PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] stance adopted at the 14th plenum that charged the UPP with opportunism and with trying to split the hitherto coalition. The majority of debaters said that the PUWP CC stance was a confirmation of an instrumental treatment of the UPP and of the PUWP's will to continue to deprive the Peasants' Party of political and organizational independence.

The debaters also discussed whether the UPP should adopt an attitude towards the PUWP CC resolution. Eventually, they appointed a commission to work out a draft statement of the caucus on the matter, to be presented on Wednesday.

Peasants Party Daily on PZPR Stance

LD2208145189 Warsaw PAP in English
1238 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 22: Today's United Peasants Party daily "DZIENNIK LUDOWY" carries an article titled "instead of commentary" and signed by Eugeniusz Pawlica. It reads in part:

"I take the liberty to express my attitude towards the Polish United Workers Party "PUWP Central Committee stand on calling up the government and current political situation." It is not my business to comment on PUWP's resolutions. In this case I am entitled to do so by the text of that "stand" in its part referring to us, the UPP [United Peasants Party] members. It was not that the UPP parliamentary floor group and the UPP authorities broke the round table agreement. The cause was the exhaustion of possibilities and purposefulness of further staying in the system coalition with the PUWP in the changing conditions that became an impulse to make the right move towards parliamentary democracy and possibility of driving Poland out of economic crisis. Thus, this is not the breaking of the round table agreements, but their implementation in the practice of political life. This move by the UPP authorities was awaited by UPP members.

"All forces taking seats at the round table recognised the overriding reasons of Poland. Why then, the PUWP claims for itself the right to be the sole party responsible for these reasons' inviolability. Is that so that the UPP, Democratic Party or "solidarnosc" has not observed these principles? Have they changed their minds? I know nothing of the fact. That is why I have the right to have doubts whether referring to the Polish raison d'etat has not been used (as a smokescreen) for defending PUWP's monopoly in the to-date state," Pawlica concludes.

TRYBUNA LUDU on Difficulties of New Government

LD2208145389 Warsaw PAP in English
1241 GMT 22 Aug 89

["TRYBUNA LUDU on Stance of 14th Plenum"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 22—"The principle of as much responsibility as power has been in force in the country for long now," writes TRYBUNA LUDU in a commentary headlined "Only Under the 'Round Table' Agreement." Excerpts:

"The party has many a time spoken in favour of far-reaching economic and political transformations, it initiated very bold transformations and continues to discern how much still remains to be done on this road. The intention of the party, however, was and continues to be to change, modernize and perfect the socialist shape of the political system.

"The new government will not have it easier than its predecessor just because it is made up of the to-date opposition. The difficulties which the country faces are too serious for 'a change of colours' to change the course of events. The chance consists in that at present none of the participants in the parliamentary structure really and not only verbally will hamper transformations needed by Poland. The PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] will surely not do this."

Paper Says Miracles Not Expected of New Government
LD2108161789 Warsaw PAP in English
1505 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 21—The government of Prime Minister Rakowski leaves to the Mazowiecki cabinet a catastrophe unseen even in the whole 45 years of People's Poland: Completely disorganised market, ruined currency, budget derailed by a gigantic deficit, dismantled taxation system, a prospect of hunger facing nearly 20 per cent of the nation, and a bitter fury of the entire nation. This is why we are not dancing in the streets," Stefan Bratkowski wrote in GAZETA WYBORCZA.

"Let us not expect miracles of this government of ours. All it can soonest do for us is to open the doors that lead to tomorrow, give all the people of good will a chance for practical activity, and free hope from the anxiety whether doing anything useful makes sense. Let us expect wonders of ourselves," is Bratkowski's postulate.

PAP Updates Strike Situation
LD2208202789 Warsaw PAP in English
1955 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 22—The "Marcel" mine in Wodzislaw Slaski has been on strike over wages for one week today. Also miners from the "Morcinek," "Grodziec" and "Jowisz" continued their protest actions today. Talks that ended late last night did not solve the key problem, that is the demand of higher wages.

A member of the factory strike committee at the "Marcel" coal pit told PAP that some 3,000 miners were on strike in that mine, some 2,000 in the "Jowisz" mine, some 1,000 in "Grodziec," and 200 miners are on strike in the "Morcinek" mine.

A protest action continues at the transport department of the Polish post authority in Katowice which embraces post offices in the voivodships of Katowice, Bielsko Biala, Opole and Czestochowa.

Employers of the power industry enterprise in Tarnowskie Gory have been on strike for four days now, demanding a 100 per cent pay rise, while power plant workers in Konin started today a protest action—with no work stoppage—to support power engineers of Belchatow.

Sanitary transport workers in Lublin continued their strike over wages today. The employees of the ambulance service in Poznan went on strike this morning and so did the ambulance service in Warsaw.

A protest action was staged today by employees of the "Spolem" co-operative Tarnow section who demand a 100,000-zloty pay rise while workers of the "Andropol" cotton industry plant in Andrychow, southern Poland, have been on strike for two days today.

Some 250 employees of the transport department of the RSW Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch publishing co-operative have continued their sit-in for one week today. They demand a 150-per cent pay rise.

Meanwhile, in connection with a strike alert announced by the federation of factory trade union organizations of the state forests authority, talks were held between the employees and the general director, improvement of the economic-financial situation being regarded the most important question at present.

The voivodship alliance of trade unions in Biala Podlaska came out against a 300-per cent rise of local bus fares to be introduced September 1.

PZPR Politburo: Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact 'Void'
LD2208185789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1952 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Tomorrow marks 50 years since the signing in Moscow of the 1939 Soviet-German nonaggression treaty, the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, with its attached secret protocol on the division of spheres of interest.

The Polish United Workers Party Politburo [PZPR] Central Committee has issued a statement in which it says, among other things, that in the view of the Polish community the actions of signatories of the treaty constituted not only a violation of international law and treaty obligations toward Poland, but also of established moral norms in international coexistance.

Referring to these generally condemned events, the PZPR Central Committee Politburo states that all decisions concerning Poland contained in these agreements were contrary to international law at the moment of their conclusion and as such, from the very beginning, have been null and void.

Spokesman on 1939 Pacts
LD2208203489 Warsaw PAP in English
1001 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 22—In connection with today's statement by the PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] Political Bureau on German-Soviet accords of 1939, spokesman for the Polish Foreign Ministry Wladyslaw Klaczynski conveyed to PAP a commentary in which he said, among other things:

"The PUWP CC Political Bureau's statement is particularly important for the work aimed to explain the problem of 'blank spots' in Polish-Russian and Polish-Soviet relations.

"The Polish-Soviet commission of historians which examines this problem has already recorded significant results.

"In the Foreign Ministry's view this commission plays a very important and useful role. We are also of the opinion that it is necessary to accelerate its work.

"Government bodies, including the Foreign Ministry, are also committed to this. Today's statement by the PUWP CC Political Bureau refers to German-Soviet agreements of 1939, that is one of the most significant and painful issues in the history of Polish-Soviet relations.

"It leaves no room for doubt as to the political, legal and moral evaluation of those agreements. Being discordant with the rules of international law, they are treated by Poland as null and void from the very beginning.

"This has a major legal-international importance as concerns the effects of the 1939 German-Soviet pacts for Poland and her citizens.

"At the same time the Foreign Ministry emphatically underlines that this stand of ours in no way violates or concerns the borders established after World War Two in Europe, including the existing Polish-Soviet border."

Poles Said To Take Part in CSSR Demonstrations

LD2208142989 Warsaw PAP in English
1347 GMT 22 Aug 89

[By PAP Correspondent Leszek Mazan]

[Text] Prague, Aug. 22—Mass media in Czechoslovakia last night said a considerable number of Poles representing the Solidarity trade union had taken part in an illegal demonstration in Vaclavske Namesti yesterday and added that "several Poles were arrested".

Despite urgent steps taken by the Consular Section of the Polish Embassy here last night to learn the details of the affair the number of Poles apprehended here and their fates have remained unknown until 12:30 today. Both the Prague Police Headquarters and the Federal Ministries of Internal and Foreign Affairs refused to provide any information on the issue.

Embassy Investigates Involvement

LD2208212189 Warsaw PAP in English
2050 GMT 22 Aug 89

[By PAP correspondent Leszek Mazan]

[Text] Prague, Aug. 22—Czechoslovak mass media reported on Monday and Tuesday on the alleged participation of many Poles, said to be Solidarity representatives, in street unrest here on the anniversary of the 1968 events. They also reported on the detention of 50 foreign nationals, including a number of Polish citizens.

The consular section of the Polish Embassy in this country immediately took steps aimed at establishing the identity and learning about the fate of the detained Poles as well as about charges levelled against them.

Unfortunately, the action did not bring about expected effects. Czechoslovak authorities referred to regulations envisaging a 48- hour detention of suspects without them being informed about the reasons of detention.

In this situation the Polish Embassy sent a diplomatic note to the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry to help it obtain indispensible information on the fate of the Polish detainees, get in touch with them and explain their legal position.

It is worth stressing that there is no proof that Poles and Solidarity representatives took part in the disturbances in downtown Prague. Even if there were any Poles taking part in the disturbances, they in no way manifested their nationality, organizational membership or political convictions. This runs counter to reports and tone of commentaries carried by Tuesday's press in Czechoslovak which, trying to accentuate—and rightly so—an international character of the events, gives prominence to Polish citizens' participation in them.

Ministers Approve Environment Agreement

LD2208172389 Warsaw PAP in English
1556 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 22—The Council of Ministers gathered today to examine problems of the paper and printing industries.

The Council of Ministers also approved the agreement between Polish, Czechoslovak and GDR Governments on cooperation in the protection of natural environment signed in Wroclaw on July 1, 1989.

Lithuanian Delegation on Relations With Poles

AU2208081689 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish
18-20 Aug 89 p 6

[Interview with Birute Nedzinskiene, Jurgis Oksas, Vidmantas Povilionis, and Arturas Rukas, members of a Lithuanian delegation to Poland, by Olga Iwaniak and Wojciech Swidnicki: "Someone Is Trying To Set Us Against Each Other"—date and place not given.]

[Text] Polish-Lithuanian relations are not as ideal as we try to make out. Lithuanians have justified grounds to be reticent toward us at the best of times. Poland was visited recently by a Lithuanian delegation in order to gauge Polish attitudes toward issues that are a bone of contention between Poles and Lithuanians on Lithuanian soil.

Our partners in the talks were: Birute Nedzinskiene of the Union of Deportees; Jurgis Oksas, member of the Sajudis [Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring] Foreign Commission; Vidmantas Povilionis, member of the Kaunas Council of the "Vilinija" Society (these three are also deputies of the Sajudis parliament); and Arturas Rukas of the "Young Lithuania" society.

[Question] What was the purpose of your visit?

Jurgis Oksas: We came to establish closer links with the opposition in Poland, especially "Solidarity." It is not out of the question that joint activity by the democratic opposition in several countries in this camp will have to be undertaken soon.

[Question] You held many talks. What impressions are you taking back with you?

Vidmantas Povilionis: Above all, we wanted to learn the Polish opposition's attitude toward Lithuanian independence. Another reason for our visit was the growing Polish-Lithuanian conflict in the Vilnius region about so-called autonomous districts. We came to present our arguments and prevent further tension. We met with Jacek Kuron; Bogdan Borusewicz; Ryszard Reiff; and Piotr Nowina-Konopka, Lech Walesa's spokesman. I must say that our arguments encountered understanding. More and more people believe that if we declare independence, Poland will demand to have Vilnius back. The Russians are sowing this fear, of course. They even tell us: "If we move, the Poles will take our place." One of the purposes of our visit to Poland is to see how real this threat is. It seems to us that the democratic opposition in Poland is very far removed from such an intention.

Jurgis Oksas: The Russians want to use Polish nationalism in order to counteract our aims. It sounds incredible, but INTERFRONT articles addressed to the Polish minority in Lithuania condemn the annexation of eastern areas of prewar Poland and call on the Poles to restore to these territories their Polishness. But that is simply illusion. They are simply trying to set us against each other. At least you in Poland should not fall for this trick.

Arturas Rokas: We do not want hostility toward Poles. However, we are afraid of Polish-Russian colaboration. Of the many ethnic minorities in Lithuania, only the Poles have started courting the Russians. Although they do not admit it openly, they have actually joined Russian organizations.

Birute Nedzinskiene: The board of the Union of Poles is still in the hands of people controlled by Moscow. These people reject anyone who wants to cooperate with us. The situation is best illustrated by the election of USSR People's Deputies. The Union of Polish Scientists nominated as their candidate Stanislaw Mackiewicz, who was in favor of accord with the Lithuanians. However, the Union of Poles in Lithuania voted for Jan Ciechanowicz, a communist and former chief editor of the CZERWONY SZTANDAR [RED STANDARD].

[Question] What kind of future for central Europe do you see?

Jurgis Oksas: The 1939 German-Soviet pact deprived us of our self-determination. It might not have been concluded if the countries of central Europe had been able to form themselves into a close alliance. The idea of such an alliance has many supporters in Lithuania today. All the way from Finland; via Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Romania; right up to Yugoslavia; we are all faced by the same danger of Russian-German domination.

[Question] Do you maintain contacts with other national movements in the Soviet Union?

Vidmantas Povilionis: Our closest contacts are with organizations in the Baltic countries, but we also have close contacts with the Belorussians and Ukrainians. Very frequently these are contacts that were first established in camps and prisons.

[Question] The Poles in Lithuania have put forth the idea of erecting a monument to the Home Army. How is Lithuanian society likely to receive this idea?

Birute Nedzinskiene: With great opposition, I am afraid. Right now I am collecting material about the occupation period. Although Polish and Lithuanian units did collaborate now and then, mutual hostility was the order of the day. Armed clashes occurred. After one of our units had shot several Polish partisans, in revenge the Home Army pacified a Lithuanian village in the Wilkomierz region. Over a dozen families perished. In Gdansk Cathedral we saw an exhibition on the Home Army in the Vilnius region. A visitor came up to us and introduced himself as a former Home Army soldier in this region. He said he had taken part in the Wilkomierz operation. He was very pleased to learn that we were Lithuanians. I was surprised that a man who had probably taken part in the massacre could be so sincere. It made me wonder whether perhaps the atrocity had not been provoked by the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs [NKVD]. We have material that suggests it was... Therefore we intend to set up a joint historical commission also consisting of former Home Army soldiers. Let the commission explain all these doubts. For this reason, I think the monument should wait.

Ukrainian Minority in Poland Viewed

AU2208083089 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 18-20 Aug 89 p 3

[Ihor Hrywna article: "The Ukrainian Minority in Poland—A Question of Ethics"]

[Text] The consciousness and position of the Ukrainians in Poland was shaped in the years 1944-47, and by the initiation of a policy of eliminating the Ukrainian minority. Ukrainians were deported to the Soviet Union up to 1946. Those who avoided deportation were forcibly resettled in 1947, in the Regained Territories. During this

period, official statistics show that 5,500 Ukrainians perished. Between 5,000-8,000 Ukrainians passed through the concentration camp of Jaworzno, as well as other prisons, and over 140,000 were forcibly resettled.

The Ukrainians resorted to the only possible form of self-defense, namely, vegetating in one's own "ghetto." On the one side they concealed their nationality, and on the other side they manifested a peasant nationalism within their own communities.

From 1956 the authorities began to apply more subtle methods. The policy of denationalization was replaced by a policy of assimilation.

For the Ukrainians, August 1980 was not the clear watershed as it was for the rest of Polish society, although it would be false to maintain that "Solidarity" did not have some effect on the Ukrainian minority. About 30 percent of the Ukrainians, mainly the young, joined "Solidarity." For the old people "Solidarity" was "the devil incarnate."

"Solidarity's" policies had a decisive influence on the Ukrainian attitude toward it. "Solidarity's" message to the minorities, sincere in its sentiment, but clumsy in its phraseology, only succeeded in alienating the majority of the Ukrainians. There were instances where Ukrainians were prevented from joining "Solidarity," and frequent instances of anti-Ukrainian feeling. "Solidarity's" manifestly national-Catholic character repelled most Ukrainians and that is the reason why a large cross-section of the Ukrainians saw the Polish United Workers Party as a guarantor of a weak but certain status quo.

Official propaganda made clever use of this feeling. It depicted "Solidarity" as enemy number one of the Ukrainians. An enemy that not only wanted to "create Poland for the Poles," but was also reaching out for Lvov.

Playing on the mutual suspicions, it circulated rumors in the Przemysl Voivodship that "Solidarity" was dominated by Ukrainians who wanted to detach this region from Poland. After 13 December a rumor was circulated that a search of a Ukrainian member's house revealed a store of arms to be used against, well, we all know who....

The years 1983-85 were watershed years for the Ukrainians, who began to organize themselves into groups that accented their national character, and began to involve themselves more in public life. The reason for this breakthrough was the honest debate of the Ukrainian question by Polish independent circles and the gestures of Pope John Paul II. In contrast to the Ukrainian uniates, the Orthodox Ukrainians, having very negative experiences of the Catholic Church, remained aloof.

The events beyond the Bug River and their consequences in the Polish People's Republic caused a revival of interest in the Ukrainian question in 1987. This met a ready response from the partly formed independent Ukrainian elite circles. The lay groupings that are linked with the Ukrainian Uniate Church (100,000-300,000 adherents in Poland) are the most independent and desirous of the dialogue. They undertake a wide-ranging publishing activity which testifies to the changes that have occurred in the last few years within the Ukrainian community. The northern Podlasie region is a particularly good example. The literary journal NASZ HOLOS [OUR VOICE] which is published annually, has been appearing here since 1983, and OSNOWY [FOUNDATIONS], a very well edited paper, has been published in the area since 1987.

In the recent elections to the Sejm and Senate the ruling-coalition list did not contain a single Ukrainian. This is in stark contrast to the choice of Doctor Wlodzimierz Mokry as a Citizens Committee candidate and his subsequent victory supported by the Polish voters. It is regrettable that his election was accompanied by conflicts, which although more of a personal nature and without any national overtones, nevertheless left an undesirable impression. This, however, does not detract from the effort put in by "Solidarity" in trying to establish a dialogue.

The contacts established during the election campaign are still bearing fruit. The Union of Independent Ukrainian Youth, only formed this May, has expressed "a desire for cooperation with independent Polish youth circles." In Olsztyn, it is planned to publish a Ukrainian language version of the regional "Solidarity" paper. These are real initiatives which leave the stereotype gestures that have dominated Polish-Ukrainian contacts to date far behind.

One must understand that the Ukrainian question in Poland is not a problem of politics, but rather one of ethics. The dialogue must be continued on this plane. For this one will need time—old stereotypes still prevail on both sides.

Investment Agreement With Austria Ratified

LD2208163389 Warsaw PAP in English
1248 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 22—Poland's undersecretary of state at the Foreign Ministry Henryk Jaroszek and Austrian ambassador to Poland Andreas Somogyi exchanged here today ratification instruments of the agreement on support and protection of investments.

The agreement, signed on November 24 1988 is to become effective as of November 1 this year.

Human Rights Expert Denounces Romanian Leaders

AU2308070489 Paris AFP in English
0302 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Geneva, Aug 23 (AFP) —A Romanian human rights expert has slammed Romanian leaders for what he called their "rule of dementia", in an annex to his earlier report to the United Nations, U.N. sources said here Tuesday.

In his "special view on the Romanian case" report Dumitru Mazilu said "millions of people" were held in concentration camps while the country's "despots" were living in palaces in what amounted to "folly enthroned".

The U.N. Sub-Commission on Human Rights charged Mr Mazilu with submitting a comprehensive report on the situation of human rights and youth worldwide in 1985.

Mr Mazilu told the U.N. body earlier this month that he had been held "in captivity under an unprecedented terror" by Romanian police since 1986.

Describing the lifestyle of the country's leaders, Mr Mazilu said "gowns and luxurious furs from famous fashion houses" were brought in by special aircraft "in exchange for exorbitant sums." "Culinary preparations of the most sophisticated kind" were also flown in special containers.

Mr Mazilu, a former foreign ministry aide, has been barred from leaving the country since 1985 to testify before the U.N. panel.

He said "old people are refused aid in case of need if they have reached the age of sixty."

Important foreign figures "are accorded a hospitality that is out of the common. They are put up in special guest houses or luxury hotels. They are treated to sumptuous meals, washed down with choice wines of which the citizens of the countries concerned do not partake even in their wildest dreams," he said.

"The absurd cult of the leader (even when he is someone who can hardly read) has produced a climate which renders almost impossible the self-affirmation and rise of best people in science, culture, literature and the arts," he added, "referring to the country's President Nicolae Ceausescu.

The sub-commission appointed a special rapporteur to investigate human rights violations in Romania in February but Bucharest refused to grant him a visa, saying the U.N. move was "null and void."

Festivities, Receptions Highlight National Day

Ceausescu, Elena Attend Reception

AU2208200389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1648 GMT 22 Aug 89

["Reception"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 22/8/1989—August 22, Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP [Romanian Communist Party] general secretary, president of Romania, and Mrs Elena Ceausescu attended a reception given by the Central Committee of the RCP, the State Council and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, at the Palace in Victoria Square of Bucharest, marking the 45th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation in Romania.

The reception was attended by members and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee of the RCP, secretaries of the party's Central Committee, members of the Central Committee of the RCP, of the State Council and of the government, party members since the underground period, participants in the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation of August 1944, veterans of the anti-Hitlerite war, executives of mass and public organizations, generals, front-ranking workers, holders of titles of heroes of socialist work and heroes of the new agrarian revolutions, scientists, men of letters, heads of denominations, newspapermen.

In the attendance were heads of diplomatic mission accredited in Bucharest, military attaches and foreign guests.

The participants conveyed President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu, on Romania's National Day, warmest congratulations and wishes of good health and power of work to lead the country, the party and the people along the socialist and communist path. The heads of diplomatic missions and the foreign guests also extended congratulations.

The reception proceeded in a festive atmosphere.

Leaders Attend Ceremonies

AU2208184589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1449 GMT 22 Aug 89

["Wreath-Laying Ceremonies"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 22/8/1989—On the 45th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation of 23 August 1944, ceremonies were held in Bucharest on 22 August during which floral wreaths were laid at the Memorial to the Heroes of the Struggle for the People's and Homeland's Freedom, for Socialism, at the Memorial to the Homeland's Heroes and at the Memorial to Soviet Heroes.

Floral wreaths were laid on behalf of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] general secretary, president of Romania, of the Central Committee of the RCP, of the Grand National Assembly, the State Council and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the National Defense Ministry and the Ministry of the Interior, the Bucharest City RCP Committee and the City People's Council, the Central Council of the General Trade Union Confederation of Romania, the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth, the Council of the Unions of Communist Student Associations of Romania and the National Council of the Young Pioneers' Organizations, the Committee of the Former Combatants and Veterans of the War against Fascism.

Wreaths were also laid by on behalf of the diplomatic corps.

Groups of young pioneers laid garlands of flowers.

The ceremonies were attended by Manea Manescu, Emil Bobu, Ion Coman, Ludovic Fazekas, Constantin Olteanu, Gheorghe Oprea, Nicolae Giosan, Vasile Milea, Tudor Postelnicu, Barbu Petrescu, first secretary of Bucharest City RCP Committee, mayor-general of the capital city, as well as members of the Central Committee of the RCP, of the State Council and of the government, generals and reserve generals, former commanders of units in the anti-Hitlerite front, executives of central institutions, of mass and public organizations, people working in Bucharest enterprises and institutions.

Attending were diplomatic heads of mission accredited in Romania, military attaches, other members of the diplomatic corps.

Companies of honour made up of military of the Armed Forces, members of the patriotic guards and of youth training units for the homeland's defense, lining the plateaux of the monuments presented arms.

The state anthem of the Socialist Republic of Romania was played.

At the Memorial to the Soviet Heroes, where Y. M. Tyazhelnikov, ambassador of the Soviet Union in Bucharest and members of the embassy were present, the state anthems of the USSR and the Socialist Republic of Romania were played.

At the close of the wreath-laying ceremonies, the attendance observed a moment's silence.

Next, they reviewed the march-past of the companies of honour.

On the same occasion, at the Cemetery of British Combatants who fell in Romania in the fights against fascism, wreaths were laid from President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania, from the Grand National Assembly, the State Council and the Government of Romania, from the National Defense Ministry and Bucharest City People's Council.

A wreath was also laid from the diplomatic corps.

Young pioneers laid garlands of flowers.

The ceremony was attended by Gheorghe Radulescu, vice-president of the State Council, Stefan Andrei, deputy prime minister, Marin Ivascu, deputy chairman of the Grand National Assembly, Dumitru Apostoiu, presidential secretary and secretary of the State Council, Dumitru Necsoiu, first deputy chairman of Bucharest City People's Council, representatives of central institutions, generals and officers, other officials.

Attending were Alan R. Clark, charge d'affaires ad-interim of Great Britain in Bucharest, members of the embassy, heads of diplomatic mission accredited in Romania, military attaches, members of the diplomatic corps.

A military company presented arms.

The state anthems of Great Britain and the Socialist Republic of Romania were played.

After the wreath-laying ceremony, the attendance observed a moment's silence. At the close of the ceremony they reviewed the march-past of the military company.

On the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the 23 August 1944 historic act, ceremonies were held across the country during which floral wreaths and garlands were laid at memorials and commemorative plaques, cemeteries of Romanian and Soviet heroes fallen during the antifascist war.

Ceausescu Attends Parade

AU2308100489

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian at 0528 GMT on 23 August begins a live relay from the Square of the National History Museum of the Socialist Republic of Romania—"a monumental edifice at the intersection of two Bucharest boulevards, Stirbei Voda and Splaiul Independentei"—of a military and working people's parade marking the 45th anniversary of the "victory of the 23 August 1944 anti-fascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation."

At 0530 GMT the announcer states that "Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, Comrade Elena Ceausescu," and "other party and state leaders" arrive and take their places on the central reviewing stand. The commander of the parade greets the troops. The national anthem is played and then twenty-one artillery salvos are fired. The

announcer states that "representatives of communist and workers parties and other foreign guests" are also attending the parade, as well as members of the diplomatic corps accredited in Bucharest.

At 0535 GMT, the march past of the military is begun by groups of cadets from the Military Academy, followed by marines with "amphibian equipment," infantry soldiers, mountain troops, border guards, and troops from the Interior Ministry. The parade continues with antitank and tactical missile battalions, artillery units, and a group of paratroopers and antitank grenade launchers mounted on Romanian-made "Aro" cars passing by.

Patriotic guards carrying machine guns, portable mine and grenade-throwers, and radiation detectors; first-aid and all-female Red Cross detachments; and youth paramilitary formations carrying semi-automatic machine guns are also in the parade.

At 0600 GMT the announcer reports the entrance of the pioneers and the fatherland's falcons in the square. Some of them give a performance in front of the official reviewing stand, interspersed with poetry dedicated to the "father and mother of the nation," while another group offers flowers to Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu.

At 0610 GMT detachments of working people from Bucharest enterprises and institutions are reported to enter the square carrying Ceausescu's portrait, flags, banners, and panels depicting their achievements.

At 0620 GMT the live relay begins switching back and forth between the National History Museum Square in Bucharest and celebrations in various other towns. The live relay is interspersed with patriotic poetry, songs, and running commentary on the "golden Nicolae Ceausescu era," on the economic achievements of the units to which the various workers that file past belong, and on Romania's name in the world as "a country of peace, cooperation, and friendship."

As the parade continues, the announcer speaks about various aspects of Romania's "principled" domestic and foreign policy and about the whole nation's "enthusiastic endorsement of the party Central Committee plenum decision to propose Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's reelection, at the 14th RCP Congress, to the supreme position as party secretary general."

At 0730 GMT the first rows of workers from enterprises around the country enter the Bucharest square, thus opening the parade of representatives from the provinces. They are followed at 0840 GMT by groups of athletes, dancers, and singers who give performances—such as aligning themselves to form the words "23 August," or "Nicolae Ceausescu"—and by a parade of members of various sports clubs.

The parade concludes with the march past of the "men in charge of order," who stop in front of the official reviewing stand while "Unity is Written on Our Flag" is sung, and the march past of the military band. Another group of pioneers and fatherland's falcons reportedly offers flowers to Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu.

The live relay ends at 0916 GMT.

Events Abroad Celebrate Day

AU2208191389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1458 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 22/8/1989—Events devoted to the Romanian people's great national holiday the 45th anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation of 23 August 1944 were held these days in numerous countries of the world.

The reception held in Beijing on the occasion was attended by Li Peng, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, premier of the State Council of People's China, other Chinese political personalities. From the Chinese leadership, RCP [Romanian Communist Party] General Secretary, President of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, was conveyed warm congratulations and wishes of Good Health and personal happiness and wishes of success and other achievements in the country's economic and social development for the Romanian people.

The "Romanian Film Days" were arranged in Moscow. At the opening the significations of 23 August and the Romanian people's great successes in the socialist construction were evoked.

A festive meeting was held in Havana, Cuba's capital, attended by Antonio Esquivel Yedra, vice-president of the Council of Ministers, party and state activists, representatives of the Cuban political and cultural life.

Festive meetings, documentary and pictorial shows, exhibitions of socio-political and fiction books, of Romanian fine arts and graphics were arranged in Pyongyang, Tirana, Prague, Ulaanbaatar, Kinshasa, Lima, Algiers, Bangkok, Dacca, Ottawa, London, Bonn, the Hague, Amman, Manila, Washington, Helsinki, Paris, Lisbon, Brasilia and other cities.

Moscow, Beijing Festive Meetings

AU2308081789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1952 GMT 22 Aug 89

["Festive Meetings Abroad Marking Romania's National Day"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 23/8/1989—A festive meeting of the representatives of working people in the Soviet capital was held in Moscow on 22 August.

The state anthems of Romania and the Soviet Union were played.

R. G. Yanovskiy, member of the Central Auditing Commission of the Central Committee of the CPSU, rector of the Academy of Social Sciences under the Central Committee of the CPSU, chairman of the Central Board of the Romanian-Soviet Friendship Association and Ion Bucur, Romania's ambassador in Moscow spoke about the signification of the event.

Stress was laid on the radial changes in Romania's life in the 45 years elapsed since the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation, the Romanian people's great achievements, under the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] leadership, in industry, agriculture, in the development of science, technology, culture, education, in raising the material and spiritual welfare of the whole nation. It was particularly shown that the most fruitful period was the period after 1965 since when Nicolae Ceausescu has been leading the RCP and Romanian state. Presented were the RCP and Romanian state foreign policy principles, the constructive positions and initiatives of Romania's international activity.

Reference was made with satisfaction to the growing course of the Romanian-Soviet collaboration on multiple planes, with emphasis on the decisive role played by the meetings, talks and understandings between Nicolae Ceausescu and Mikhail Gorbachev along this line.

Attending were V.M. Chebrikov, member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Y. Primakov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, L.D. Ryabev, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, I.P. Aboimov, deputy foreign minister, V.N. Makeyev, secretary of the Central Council of the Soviet Trade Unions, Army General P.G. Lushev, first deputy defense minister, commander-in-chief of the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty States, other officials diplomats, scientists, men of letters, university teaching staff, newsmen.

Attending were also a delegation of the Romanian-Soviet Friendship Association, led by Rodica Paraschiva Vilcu, member of the Central Committee of the RCP, and of the Executive Bureau of the SDUF [Socialist Democracy and Unity Front] National Council, in the USSR during the event.

On the occasion, in the salons of the trade unions house of Moscow, the pictorial documentary show "USSR-Romania Friendship and Collaboration" opened which features aspects from the meetings between Nicolae Ceausescu and Mikhail Gorbachev, and images of the Romanian people's life and work in the socialist years.

On 22 August, in numerous Soviet towns, collective members of the Soviet-Romanian Friendship Association, among which Leningrad, Kishinev, Tbilisi, Uzhgorod, festive meetings and cultural-artistic events were held marking the Romania's National Day.

The series of events marking Romania's National Day in People's China continued with a festive meeting in Beijing.

In this context, Wu Xueqian, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC, vice-premier of the State Council of People's China, was highly appreciative of the consistently friendly and cooperative relations between the two countries and people and underscored the militant solidarity of the CPC and the RCP in the socialist construction, in defense of the cause of socialism.

In the opening address, Xu Qun, secretary-general of the Association of Friendship of the Chinese People With Foreign Countries, expressed the feelings of valuation and deep friendship inspiring the Chinese and Romanian peoples.

Liu Gengying, deputy chairman of the Association of Friendship of the Chinese People With Foreign Countries, evinced the great importance of the day of 23 August 1944 when the entire Romanian nation, led by the RCP, started the insurrection and overthrew the military-fascist dictatorship and passed firmly to the establishment of the people's power.

In the 45 years elapsed since the liberation, mostly after the election of Nicolae Ceausescu at head of the party and state the speaker pointed out the Romanian people applied the principles of scientific socialism to specific conditions in Romania scoring great successes in the socialist construction.

The festive meeting was attended by Tian Zengpei, deputy foreign minister, Li Shuzheng, deputy head of the foreign relations section of the Central Committee of the CPC, Xu Huizhi, deputy chief of staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, other officials representatives of central press organs and radio and television, men of letters, newsmen.

Manescu Article on National Day

AU1608190989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1456 GMT 16 Aug 89

["The Historical Act of 23 August 1944 Opened a New Era of Grandiose Achievements on the Path of Socialism and Communism in Romania"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 16/8/1989—Under this headline "SCINTEIA" of 16 August runs an article contributed by Manea Manescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], vice-president of the State Council.

The antifascist and antiimperialist revolution of social and national liberation of August 1944, the article shows, put an end forever to the foreign imperialist domination, opened the path of achieving great revolutionary changes and of building socialism in Romania. The victory of August 1944 is part and parcel of the great social battles the progressive forces of the Romanian society have fought along the years in the name of the cause of the country's unity, liberty and independence.

Underscoring the decisive role of the RCP in the preparation and unfolding of the insurrection on 23 August 1944, the article refers to the great international reverberation of that heroic act of the Romanian people which gave the enemy a strong blow by which he lost a big part of his technical-material base, vital for the continuation of the war, and at the same time opened the allied armies the path toward central and southeastern Europe, getting closer the day of the victory against Hitlerite Germany. By means of the 23 August 1944 act Romania joined the United Nations. The Romanian Army, supported by the entire people, fought heroic battles alongside of the Soviet Army for the complete defeat of the Hitlerite-Horthyist troops on the country's territory and engaged a great human and material potential for the liberation of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and a part of Austria. Owing to its great toll in the fights against Hitlerites, Romania ranks fourth among the powers which contributed to the final victory on May 9, 1945.

The victorious revolution of August 1944 marked in Romania the beginning of a vast process of renewing economic, political and social transformations. The creation of the first worker-peasant government, of the first democratic parliament in the country's history, the removal of monarchy and the proclamation of the Republic, the article shows, were moments that prepared the passage to building the new, socialist system.

The article makes a balance of the Romanian people's achievements after 23 August 1944, the development of the national economy, of socialist property, of science, culture and education, the harmonious, balanced development of the production forces on the entire territory, the raise of the people's standard of living and civilization, the continuous improvement of the revolutionary-worker democracy system. The development of the Romanian society as a whole, the vitality of the national economy the article emphasizes—are tellingly expressed by the fact that, in the conditions of continuously increasing the people's standard of living, Romania has completely paid off its foreign debt this year. This prestigious accomplishment, unique on an international plane, which strengthens Romania's full political and economic independence, ensures new resources for its multilateral development and for the intensification of its participation in the world economic exchanges.

BORBA on 'Democratic Virus' in Poland, GDR

AU2208162389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19-20 Aug 89 p 9

[Vlado Teslic commentary from the "Week in the World" column: "Democratic Virus"]

[Text] By making the formula for the new government coalition that would be made up by Solidarity and the partners of the Polish Communists, and the peasants and democrats' parties that have so far been mostly passive, Lech Walesa has once again corrected all those people who had underestimated his political skill. In fact, he denied the Polish Comunists the right to continue forming governments. Many Polish Communists reproach Jaruzelski and Kiszczak for "supping with the devil...." They also reproach Walesa for breaking the roundtable agreement obliging him to carry out the policy of the loyal opposition responsibly. However, the "democratic virus" which Jaruzelski had started and which reaffirmed his role on the Polish scene, followed its own laws and ignored the agreement. Since they set off along the road of democratization (in fact, there had been no other road for them), the Polish Communists cannot now ignore the consequences.

It is another problem that what is involved here is not only democracy and the question of who will form the government, but also the grave economic crisis for which not only Polish Communists are to blame, because, after all, they did propose a plan of reforms that may even be called radical. It is extremely uncertain what kind of reforms the forces of the "opposition" led by Solidarity would be able to propose, particularly within the existing economic and political system in which exchange and cooperation with the USSR play a significant part. Would not the Poles be brought into an even more serious economic situation if they abandoned that system, and how realistic is that idea at all with the existing divisions in which even the West is not ready to sacrifice anything from its own wealth to somebody else's benefit?

Is not the Soviet warning about Walesa's demands a sign of being upset about everything that the USSR invested into Poland and the CEMA system?

It is interesting that very little room in all these combinations about the possible further political democratization is granted to the military and political future of the country. Does this mean its separation from the Warsaw Pact, a step toward Western military-political alliances, or perhaps a step toward neutrality? Walesa is wise enough to keep silent about this, but it is no secret what the intentions of his numerous advisers are.

Giving the departments of national defense and police to the Communists can hardly mean much here.

The events in the GDR do not have such an economic dimension and edge. Nevertheless, what is involved here is also the bacillus of democracy that found a favorable soil after changes had taken place in other socialist countries. The special privilege the GDR citizens, at least most of them, enjoy in the community of East European countries, if that still exists, is that they are provided for in the economic sense. It seems that this does not satisfy them, because they are certain that their standard of living would have been much higher under the conditions of a greater political democracy. Hence the longing to move to the other German state, a feeling which has always existed. However, why is this longing manifested just now? Is it just the expression of the hard-line attitude of the GDR leadership toward reforms, or perhaps a reaction to what the FRG and its propaganda—which is, by the way, insisting upon the breakup of the entire "communist system" and the certainty of the breakup of the GDR as an independent state—are offering?

The euphoria of such a propaganda is not only unreal but also dangerous. Security and detente in Europe have been long based upon the balance of forces and mutual coexistence of the two German states. Even Berlin has found its place in this situation. If historical circumstances have imposed present borders, states, and relations, then the only sensible thing would be to leave some of the possible unjustices and divisions to history to correct in a peaceful way. One can hardly say that now the time is ripe for that. A wrong assessment could be paid dearly, much more dearly than the erection of the Berlin wall.

TANJUG Reports on Polish Economic Problems

LD2308082889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0001 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 23 (TANJUG)—Overall social tension and the increasing number of strikes in Poland had a negative influence on the already poor economic activity in the country.

The latest data for the past month show a production drop in the state-owned industry sector, the disintegration of the finance system due to the increased budget deficit, an increasingly deteriorated situation in external trade and the lack of foodstuffs and other consumer goods.

The amount of money in circulation over the past seven months (?comes) to almost 9.5 billion zlotys, but this was not covered by goods and services on the market.

In industrial branches, which are decisive to the country's economic results, there is increasingly less labour because people are seeking work in better-paid sectors other than those state-owned. Firms lacking labour, raw materials and semi-manufactures are not able to reach even last year's production levels, not to mention more extensive plans for this year.

The boiling political climate caused a feeling of insecurity in the ordinary people who fear they will not manage to support their families, and this in turn results in lower productivity.

All this only indicates that the new ministers' first task should be to lead the country out of an economic dead end.

Further on Muzevic Case of Police Brutality

Belgrade Body Views Case

AU2208204389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] The Executive Council of Belgrade Assembly has adopted the following conclusions regarding the traffic incident in New Belgrade which involved Boris Muzevic, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia:

The law holds for everyone equally and there can be no debate about the equality of citizens before the law nor differing views which imply divisions into privileged and unprivileged citizens. Not even Muzevic, as member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, can be above these principles.

There has been an increasing number of traffic accidents in Belgrade in which children have been killed and people have been particularly alert prior to the nonaligned summit, so it is normal that all citizens behave according to the law and show specific documents when asked to by official persons.

For a democratic law-governed state to function, it is essential that state organs rid themselves of double standards and the pressure to recognize individuals as untouchables, to whom the law does not relate and who are entitled to special treatment. It must be clear to everyone that those who are obliged to strictly apply the law, do not have to recognize citizens according to the posts they hold.

At a moment when Belgrade is making exceptional efforts to provide the best possible conditions for the stay and work of the participants in the nonaligned summit, it is extremely inappropriate and malicious to bring into question what is well known to the whole of the international public and what constantly confirms that Belgrade is one of the safest cities in the world.

The Executive Council of the city's assembly rejects the idea that has been reiterated that individuals feel unsafe in Belgrade and that their personal integrity and conditions for work have been undermined, because such claims do not correspond to the truth and deeply insult the whole of the city and the Belgrade people.

Belgrade and the Belgrade people have affirmed several times that they are neither nationalists nor separatists. Belgrade has been and remains a miniature Yugoslavia. Citizens have equal rights and duties and this can be confirmed by all inhabitants of Belgrade, regardless of their national and political affiliation.

The Executive Council of the Belgrade Assembly does not accept the assessments that have been given by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, and particularly the untruths and mudslinging at the citizens and services of the capital city of Yugoslavia and Serbia.

It is suggested to the City Secretariat for Internal Affairs that, in cooperation with the Serbian Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs, it precisely establishes all the facts and, on this basis, acts strictly in accordance with the legal regulations, and informs the public of all the details of the Muzevic case, it is stressed in the conclusions of the Executive Council of Belgrade Assembly.

Ljubljana Radio on Case

AU2208204789 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Sandi Frelih Commentary]

[Text] Police violence against citizens cannot be excused anywhere, regardless of those involved. Recent events—the behavior of militiamen in Mosevac, Vevcani, Titograd, and Bar, and the reports about the beatings of Albanians under isolation—show that we are not a law-governed state, but a society which, in keeping with tradition, allows the use of police truncheons and other means. Belgrade DUGA has reported on the conduct of Serbian militiamen and affairs connected with them. We have had cases of excesses in our republic, too.

It is not right that the latest case has been blown out of proportion, but it is a fact that it concerns a member of the Yugoslav Party Presidium and thus the political weight of the event is inevitably different.

In the Muzevic case, the Serbian police statement contains some large loopholes. First, it is inadmissible that the public had not been informed, not even in the police chronicle. They waited for 4 full days, and the immediate release following the statement of the Slovene Party Presidium gives rise to the impression that they had their version prepared in advance, just in case.

It is incomprehensible, for instance, how a driver, supposedly speeding at 90 km per hour, can be stopped after 50 meters—a militiaman cannot even mount his motorcycle in that much time. The statement also does not say how long one had to wait for the patrol vehicle and why Muzevic had to get in it. How was the speed of his car measured? The statement does not say since when a strong beard or an unshaven face is a sign of intoxication.

The militia statement says that Muzevic had no papers. It details his injuries, but does not mention any possible witnesses to the event. So it appears that the member of

the federal party Presidium intentionally let himself be beaten up after the militia intervened, or, as the statement intimates, being drunk, he himself provoked a fight with unknown people.

Shortcomings, illogical statements, and contradictions in the statement add doubt to its truthfulness, and especially confirm that the event has a political background to which the statement by the Slovene Party Presidium unequivocally draws attention. Could it have been a settling of accounts with political opponents or those who think differently, with a man who is known for his stormy dialogues with the uncontested Serbian leader, and who publicly drew attention to the consequences of homogenization and populism?

Vlasi's Trial Expected To Begin in October

AU2208075289 Belgrade POLITIKA
in Serbo-Croatian 17 Aug 89 p 9

[D. Mrkic report: "Investigation Against Azem Vlasi Completed"]

[Text] Titova Mitrovica, 16 Aug—As we have been informed today by the President of the Titova Mitrovica District Court, Ismet Emera, the investigation process concerning Azem Vlasi, former president of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo; Aziz Abrasi, president of the managing board of the Trepca mine; Burhan Kavaja, director of the Stari Trg mine; and 13 other people who have been justifiably accused of being the initiators and organizers of the hostile demonstrations in Kosovo last November and the counterrevolutionary events in the February of this year, has been completed.

As soon as he receives additional documents from some state and party organs, the Titova Mitrovica District Court judge in charge of the inquiry will complete his investigatory work and hand it over to the public prosecutor's office. The accused will be charged by 2 September at the latest. Considering the time during which the accused and the public prosecutor's office can exercise their legal rights, it is expected that the trial will begin in the middle of October of this year.

The trial will be held in Titova Mitrovica, where the preparations for the trial are being finalized. The extension and modification of a hall for the Titova Mitrovica District Court, which will be able to accommodate 80 people, is almost completed.

The biggest problem for the Titova Mitrovica District Court until now has been how to organize the simultaneous translations so that the lawyers of the defendants and journalists can follow the trial without interruptions.

Dragosavac Views Milosevic's Statements

AU2208125689 Zagreb VJESNIK
in Serbo-Croatian 13 Aug 89 p 4

[Interview with Dusan Dragosavac, member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, by Milan Jaksic—place, date not given]

[Excerpts] After the 25th session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, critical salvos containing some of the worst possible denigrations were directed against Dr Dusan Dragosavac, so that his critical radicalism and the sharp reaction to it have begun to acquire the semblance of sharp disagreements in some very sensitive political spheres, particularly interethnic ones. At this last session of the highest party forum, Dragosavac clearly presented his views on nationalism, but he also left open some dilemmas pertaining to facts (particularly historical facts) which he connected with Serbian nationalism. We asked him for an interview in order to provide a detailed explanation of his theses, because their scope was too large for plenum speeches with a limited duration. We asked him to explain in detail his thesis which links the results of the Balkan Wars and the Serbian hegemonism of those times with the present Serbian nationalism.

[Dragosavac] [passage omitted] What is being done today is simply a regression from the ideas of progressive Serbian social-democrats, which means that regarding the sphere involved, the Program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is deviated from. Are these assessments not supported by the political climate which is always directed towards primarily stressing national interests, something which is not far from ideas about a Great Serbia, Great Croatia, or Great Macedonia? There are constant contests about who has more merits, whose nation is bigger, who has liberated, or robbed somebody else. Can one build one's present or future in such a way? This is why I mentioned the interview Milosevic gave to LE MONDE. No bourgeois politician in our history would make such a statement. Can any nation in our country be called a big nation. After all, why this insistence upon the size of a nation when our peoples, nations, and religions are so mixed up? Even Yugoslavia, when compared to big states, is a small country, not to mention in our economic capabilities. We are neither larger than the Chinese nor richer than the Americans, and the Chinese and the Americans certainly need each other. Do we not, within this country of ours, need each other, too? Can one grant concessions to one nationalism or one religion and deny it to all the others?

The Speech at Gazi Mestan

[Jaksic] Would you care to elaborate on these ideas a little more?

[Dragosavac] Well, for instance, with regard to the speech Slobodan Milosevic made at Gazi Mestan on the occasion of the celebration of the 600th anniversary of

the Battle of Kosovo, I think that one must first notice that, according to Milosevic, apart from himself there has been no real Serb in Serbia since Prince Lazar was killed. It can be concluded from what he said there that the socialist and communist movement, as well as the antisocialist revolution "placed the Serbian People in an agony whose historical and moral consequences have surpassed those of the fascist aggression." He then goes on to say that the people "in Serbia became free this year, and regained their state, national, and spiritual sovereignty." One should presumably conclude that communists, antifascists, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and the SFRY are worse for Serbia than the Turks used to be.

I think that this is an attempt to affirm a political campaign according to which Serbia was a wealthy and a democratic state until antifascists came to power and caused complete regression. This was done by the anti-Serbian Catholic-Communist coalition headed by Tito and Kardelj. It is obvious what and who was meant here. The speech at Gazi Mestan is historical and relates to one single nationality and the Kosovo myth was abused in a Christian Democratic fashion. There is a logical continuation of this in the statement to LE MONDE to the effect that it is Serbia who needs Yugoslavia least, because it is the largest among the republics. All this was said and a mass for the dead was held for the SFRY and attended by its representatives who, although guests, were treated in a very uncivilized way. [passage omitted]

Vlasi's Arrest

[Jaksic] The public is very interested in the coming trial of Azem Vlasi, perhaps because of contradictory opinions about his arrest, or because of the way a politican is being treated. What are your views about Vlasi's arrest and everything that had preceeded it?

[Dragosavac] I consider Vlasi to be innocent until the opposite is proved by a valid court verdict. I have always been and will remain critical about political trials because such trials hit back like a boomerang. I think that we can freely say that everything has started with Kosovo demonstrations which in many points resemble rallies in Serbia and some other parts of the country, but in Kosovo various extremes were avoided at the beginning, because wherever there were any attempts of that kind, they were immediately stopped. The flags of Serbia, Yugoslavia and of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo were carried, and with regard to pictures, I seem to remember that only Tito's pictures were carried.

[Jaksic] There are some opinions that it has been all arranged in advance.

[Dragosavac] This is not to be excluded. But what about the other side, was there no arranging there? In such situations, there is always some arranging, it is only a question of what sort of arranging it is. Alright, even I do not doubt it: The people who were in the Kosovo leadership at the time probably influenced the events there, which again means that they probably directed those events, too. One could see how the crowd at that time accepted Azem Vlasi, Kacusa Jasari, and Remzi Koljgeci. The three of them probably had the situation under control. I mean they had it under control in the sense that they could influence a peaceful course of events, which ran without extremes. However, as soon as the Kosovo politicians were separated from these events, the nationalists took over. I think it would have been most sensible had the Yugoslav and the Serbian party leaderships allowed the people in Kosovo to freely elect their representatives, and then the people would have the right to ask of their leadership to carry out the policy they want.

[Jaksic] Could one have such relations before the leaders' responsibility was established, because a statement like yours was opposed by the conclusions of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee demanding that responsibility be established for the situation in Kosovo, and that it be done above all in Kosovo itself?

[Dragosavac] Yes, but one should bear in mind the fact that the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia also made serious remarks about the policy of the League of Communists of Serbia, as well as of the Central Committee itself. And yet nobody was replaced because of this. You know, criticism may be extremely sharp, but those who are criticized should be given the chance to change and to make amendments in their work. When one speaks about Kosovo and the criticism of everything that we have criticized there or that we still criticize, he should be honest and say that this criticism is frequently very general. This is the case, for instance, when we criticize the development of Kosovo, because some things there have been done well, such as the electricity generation industry, from which all Yugoslavia profits. One could find more such cases. Or speaking about Vlasi, one should say that during the time that Vlasi was there in the most prominent functions, many people were sentenced and punished. One should also know that among many Albanians he was reputed to be a man who blindly followed the Serbian and some sort of a Yugoslav policy. And now it appears overnight that this policy was no good. What then did actually happen? National leaders emerged overnight. You know, where interethnic tension occurs, national leaders appear, and on this basis Vlasi at some moment became a national leader. [passage omitted]

National Homogenization

[Jaksic] The Central Committee at its latest session did not succeed in cutting the Gordian knot of nationalism. Where do you see a way out of the situation when everybody sees the nationalism of others before he sees his own?

[Dragosavac] There is no way out unless everybody energetically settles accounts with his own nationalism first. I fear that the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia cannot change anything essential here any more. It is sad that this is so, but we must be realistic.... This is the case with any kind of nationalism, although I must say that the Serbian nationalism that I particularly pointed to at that session—without underestimating the other ones—has been widespread for quite some time already and is dangerous because, among other reasons, powerful people have been nurturing and pampering it, and that is very bad. We must also be fully aware of the fact that by starting one national question, one automatically starts another one, and I think that the many bad experiences we, unfortunately, have had with nationalism can remind us of where all this may lead us.

[Jaksic] What are your views about national homogenization which people often deny by saying that what is involved is not a national homogenization but a homogenization on the basis of positive programs?

[Dragosavac] I think that what is involved is nevertheless a national homogenization which is underway in many parts of our country, but what worries me most is the national homogenization in the Socialist Republic of Serbia on the one hand and the national homogenization of the Albanians on the other. However, what can national homogenization mean in this country when nations are so mixed up in all its parts? Let us see who else is living in Serbia apart from the Serbs and how many members of other peoples and nationalities there are there. The situation is similar in other republics, the population is mixed up even in Slovenia. I think that if we are clever, national homogenization will have no chance in the future. I also want to point out that one national homogenization spurs another one and that any aggressive or numerous nationalist movement uses the old proven rules of the game. For instance, Serbian nationalism has taken much from the nationalism in the Socialist Republic of Croatia during the times of the national movement [the beginning of the 1970's]. The scenario of some of their manifestations is almost the same. One laments the fate of one's own people, others are accused of having robbed that people, national myths from the past are invoked, etc. Therefore, all that has been seen before, although various nationalisms may differ and certainly do differ in their strategy.

The Question of Statehood

[Jaksic] When speaking at the Central Committee session, you advocated a more complete approach to the phenomenon of statehood, albeit respecting the necessity to talk also about the statehood of those nationalities and peoples who are a minority in a republic, because not everybody enjoys that form of statehood in Yugoslavia. What are your views on the problem of statehood?

[Dragosavac] Why does the Croat Constitution include the formulation that Croatia is also the state of the Serbs who are living there? Because it guarantees them national equality and not only civil equality. This means that when it comes to the question of statehood, the Serbs living in Croatia do not have to look elsewhere in Yugoslavia or outside its borders. We do have such situations in which, just because they lack this statehood, some others are forced to look even over our country's borders. I shall therefore recall Tito's words that republican borders should be like lines in marble which do not serve to divide but to connect. Therefore, it was certainly not good when a considerable number of delegates of the Croatian Assembly voted to get the Serbs out of the Croatian Constitution, but what is most important is that the proposal has not been adopted. Just as what happened in Macedonia whose Constitution recognizes only the statehood of Macedonians, is not good. It is also not good that the majority vote was used when the Croatian Assembly discussed the name of the language used there. When speaking in Croatia several months ago I said that the proposal on the name of the language should not be submitted to the Assembly yet, because it had not been adequately prepared. The whole thing should have been prepared better and only then voted on, but this is only possible under different political circumstances. However, they did not listen to me, and what happened was that the national moment prevailed. After all, there has always been some nationalism in all debates involving language, so it was not lacking this time either. Nobody can—and it would be bad if it is done—force the Croats to renounce the name of the language they want. As we know, the problem is whether it will be called the Croatian literary language. I think that there should be no problem there. Whichever variant is chosen, it will at least be called the Croatian or Serbian language. I think that it is a worse problem when this pretty language is deformed by being Croatized by force. On the other hand, there are disputes such as the one about the word for a thousand, and in fact, the word considered to be Croatian was used in Dusan's Code [Serbian Emperor Dusan (1308-1355)].

The Position of Serbs in Croatia

[Jaksic] What are your views about the position of the Serbs who are living in Croatia, their ethnic and cultural specificities, and their life together with Croats and other people living in Croatia?

[Dragosavac] If we advocate the self-managing concept and want to have a modern socialist state, it then seems to me to be more natural if Serbs establish their equality with Croats through joint institutions. Let there also be some specific institutions; I have nothing against that. However, joint institutions seem to me to be more acceptable. Or, let me make a specific proposal: Why would not VJESNIK, for example, have several pages in Cyrillic script on Sundays? You see, Cyrillic is not just the Serbian script, just as the Latin script does not belong solely to the Croats. They are the part of the wealth of

both. Or, why should the periodical NASE TEME not be published both in the Latin and Cyrillic script? When somebody complaints that there is nothing that is Serbian in Lapac, he should be told that there is nothing there that is not Serbian, which means that some things have simply been neglected, for who forbids these people, or anybody living in similar communities, to write inscriptions in Cyrillic or to cherish the culture of the Serbian people?

Slovene Council Criticizes Satirical Paper

AU2108154589 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Aug 89 p 10

[TANJUG report: "Base and Uncivilized Articles in PAVLIHA"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 17 Aug—Some articles in the biweekly PAVLIHA which was published on 9 August with a Belgrade POLITIKA masthead, do not contribute to calming the overheated passions in Yugoslavia with its baseness, and bear witness more to the low creative level and level of civilization of the writers than of those at whom this writing is aimed, it was assessed at the session of the Executive Council of the Presidium of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Ljubljana.

Along with the comment that it would nevertheless be more appropriate for the Slovene Writers Association, the founders of the publication, to assess this edition of PAVLIHA, it was said at the session that the Executive Council is doing so mainly because of a call made by the Presidium of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Belgrade several days ago. The council members read the disputed edition of PAVLIHA and retained the belief that PAVLIHA is indeed a newspaper for intelligent Slovenes, as is written on the masthead, and that the readers themselves will know how to sort the wheat from the chaff. Members of the Executive Council believe that it would be good if the editorial board of this newspaper were to count on this more seriously. In any case, it is assessed that the Presidium of the Belgrade Socialist Alliance of Working People will just as resolutely and openly—as it did in the case of the disputed PAVLIHA—discuss simple articles about the situation in Slovenia, like the article "Slovenia—A Ghetto for Minorities" published in ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA on 15 August.

The claims made in this article were checked and, as it was said, they were simply untrue. In the opinion of the Executive Council, this article is one of those which do not contribute to a better understanding among people.

Novi Sad Pobeda Strikers Say No 'Compromise'

AU1708172789 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Nada Zamurovic report]

[Text] The workers of the Novi Sad Pobeda Machine and Equipment Factory did not work today either. Director Mile Sarija, who had interrupted his annual leave, visited the City Assembly this morning with his associates and representatives of the strike committee. No way to meet the strikers' demands was found at the meeting. Everybody in the factory was at their workplace, all members of the essential services worked, but all of the others were just standing there. There have been no excessive acts however and everything is peaceful.

At 1000, a compromise proposed by city fathers was suggested to the strike committee. The members of the strike committee then conveyed those proposals to the workers in the factory. The workers have not accepted the compromise. They have stayed with their decision not to give up their demands: They want their pay to be doubled in July and they want their incomes to be adjusted to inflation on a monthly basis. The fact that there is no money to pay for all of that now means nothing to them. They say that Pobeda has no money because it had first allocated money to all of those services that live off the economy, an assertion that is most probably 100 percent true. The workers demand that all of that money should be given back, that [words indistinct] pay back the money they have not earned, and that from now on we must obey the rule that workers' personal incomes must be paid first and only then can contributions to social services be made.

Another meeting with the city fathers has begun. This time the city fathers came to the strikers. The talks are under way and a report on it will be presented both to the workers and to the public tomorrow at 0600.

When their work hours ended, the workers went home. If they learn tomorrow morning that their demands have not been met, they will take to the streets, we were told by Slavoljub Milenikovic, (?president) of the strike committee.

Strike Ends

AU2208205389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Workers at the Novi Sad Pobeda factory have returned to work after an 8-day strike. This was decided by the strike committee because it had not succeeded in (?representing) all the workers' demands. Pobeda workers will receive an 80 percent wage increase, instead of the demanded 100 percent. In June, workers at the Novi Sad Pobeda factory earned an average of 1,500,000 dinars.

Prijepolje Shoe Factory Workers on Strike

AU2108143189 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] All 950 workers of the Limka shoe factory of Prijepolje stopped work this morning. Here is a report from radio Polimlje by Muharem Mutabdzija:

The workers announced this strike 8 days ago, immediately after they had returned from their collective annual vacation. However, this warning was not taken seriously by the factory management, half of which is still on vacation. The workers kept their promise. This morning the workers in the first shift stopped their machines and presented their demands through the strike committee.

The essence of the demands boils down to a pay increase and solving accumulated problems in the firm. They demand salaries three times higher than present, and that minimum personal pay is not below 4 million dinars. They also demand that their salaries be linked to the cost of living and administrative costs reduced by about 30 percent.

They also want the management to be called to account, especially the general director, Petko Despotovic, with whom the workers are very angry because he allegedly did not want to stop his annual vacation and look for a way out of the extremely difficult situation in which this firm has found itself.

That the firm is in a very difficult position is illustrated by the fact that the semi-annual results show that Limka incurred a loss of some 7.5 billion dinars and that its liabilities exceed 20 billion dinars.

Although the firm has secured orders until the end of the year, the workers have decided to be resolute and stay on strike until their basic demands have been met.

Consumer Body Sends Proposals to Government

AU1808162389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Aug 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "'An Umbrella' for Consumers"]

[Text] The Section for Socioeconomic Relations of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia and the Coordination Committee of the Yugoslav Consumer Council have proposed a discussion document to Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, which contains 22 demands and proposals. They ask that conditions be created so that organized consumers in our country can act more effectively by making use of the experiences of consumer organizations in developed countries with market economies, and that opportunities be opened up for Yugoslav consumer centers (Belgrade, Ljubljana, Sarajevo, Skopje, Zagreb, and Rijeka) to operate by taking into account the "results" of experimental all-Yugoslav action in comparing the quality and price of food products (which otherwise presented a depressing picture). The document also demands that trade in fruit and vegetables, which has all but died out, be revitalized and that the network of discount shops and department stores be stimulated. There is also a demand for a radical change in or a scrapping of the existing regulations on price adjustments [nivelacija], because it is considered that the present way of applying these directly speeds up inflation several times over and makes competition in prices and quality impossible. There is also a demand for stricter regulations on punishment for offenses and violations which harm consumers, since these punishments have been reduced to a symbolic amount because of inflation. The suggestions also demand the creation of opportunities for consumer savings and the elimination of formal barriers to setting up and promoting consumer collectives in work organizations and local communities.

It is being proposed to Ante Markovic, or rather the Federal Executive Council, that an anti-cartel bureau be set up at the federal level, like the type of institution that has its place in all developed countries with a market economy, and that a Yugoslav "Consumers Code" be introduced which would be culled from the experiences of the EEC ("Code of Conduct") which would offer additional voluntary guarantees from suppliers for fair business practices.

It also emerges from these suggestions that measures should be taken by state organs at all levels to create conditions as soon as possible for unemployed people themselves to set up tens of thousands of new social, collective, private, mixed, and contract enterprises and shops, which is one of the most important ways to spread competition. This would prevent the almost astronomical prices of children's clothes, children's food, child hygiene products, toys, and books....

Finally, it is proposed that an interdepartmental committee for consumer issues be introduced as a consultative body within the Federal Executive Council.

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